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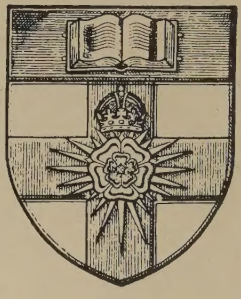

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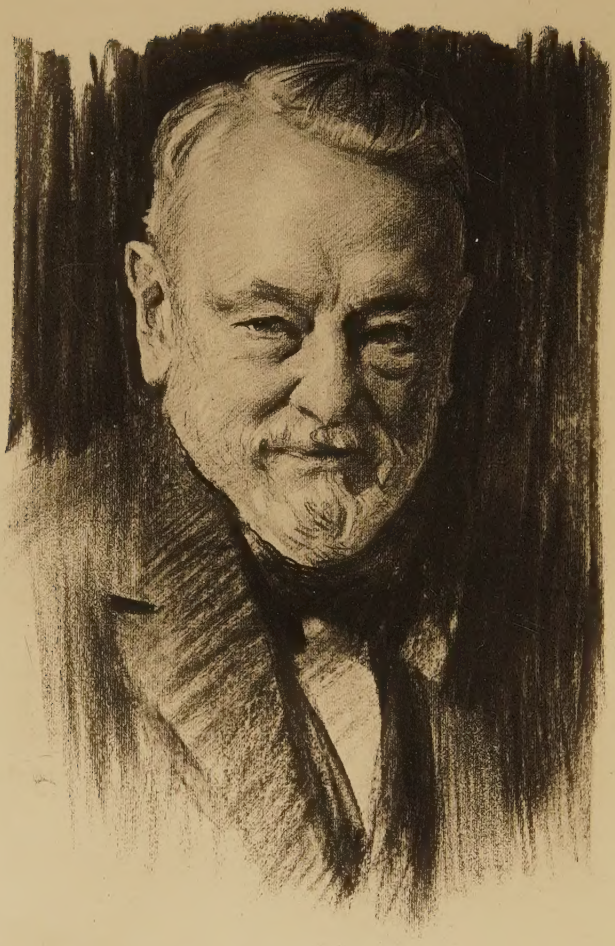

James Ford Rhodes.

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

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Volume LX

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Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

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OCTOBER, 1926—JUNE, 1927

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Boston
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CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP.

October, 1926 — September, 1927.

Deaths.

Resident.

1893, James Ford Rhodes	Jan.	22, 1927.
1902, Brooks Adams	Feb.	13, 1927.
1915, Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham	Nov.	27, 1926.
1917, John Adams Aiken	Jan.	28, 1927.
1918, William Sturgis Bigelow	Oct.	6, 1926.
1925, Francis Tiffany Bowles	Aug.	3, 1927.

Corresponding.

1878, Joseph Florimond Loubat	Feb.	10, 1927.
1900, Simeon Eben Baldwin	Jan.	30, 1927.
1901, Sir William James Ashley	July	23, 1927.
1907, James Kendall Hosmer	May	11, 1927.
1908, John Bagnell Bury	June	1, 1927.
1919, Albert Jeremiah Beveridge	April	27, 1927.

NOTE.

By an unfortunate combination of circumstances some of the Proceedings of the Society were omitted from their proper places in the record of the meetings.

At the meeting of January 13, 1927, KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK was elected a Resident Member, and MICHAEL IVANOVICH ROSTOVTZEFF was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

W. C. F.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1926.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 14, 1926, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, papers of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, 1815–1857.

From Miss Susie Z. Preble, papers of her father, Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble.

From George R. Harlow, of Cleveland, Ohio, papers of Joshua Harlow, of Cambridge, 1794–1872.

From Miss Margaret Blossom, of New York, photographic negatives of pages of early Plymouth Colony papers, 1620–1668.

From Mrs. Henry B. Stevens, of Boston, papers of the Stevens family, mostly relating to Capt. Aaron Dwight Stevens, who was with John Brown at Harper's Ferry.

From Miss Mary E. Hastings, a statement by her and Mrs. Isabel Hastings Shriver, great-granddaughters of Alice Adams, of Connecticut, giving testimony of her engagement to Capt. Nathan Hale.

From Albert Thorndike, a photograph of a travelling Masonic certificate, 1762.

By purchase, a typewritten copy of a Notebook of John Saffin, of Boston and Bristol, 1665–1708, from the original in the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the Museum of Fine Arts, a pencil sketch made by one of the Special Artists of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* taken on " Trent River, N. C., in the expedition to Pollocksville, twenty miles above Newbern." It shows the gunboat *Vedette,* with three

companies of the 51st N. Y. Reg. (Col. Edward Ferrero) and General Jesse L. Reno's staff, sent "to disperse a small rebel force stationed there. The bridge in the sketch is one over which the rebels retreated from the battle of Newbern (March 14, 1862)."

From the New Hampshire Historical Society, a photograph of a bust of Daniel Webster, by Robert Ingersoll Aitken, recently placed by that Society in the Hall of Fame.

From Dr. Malcolm Storer, a silver medal of Alessandro Volta and Benjamin Franklin, presented by John William Lieb, Jr., in commemoration of the visit of the Italian Electrical Society to America in 1904.

From T. Julien Silsby, a badge worn at the 37th Annual Congress of the National Society, Sons of the American Revolution, Philadelphia, June 6 to 9, 1926, in commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of American Independence.

From Grenville H. Norcross, various engravings, photographs, coins and medals.

From the Boston Chamber of Commerce, a copy in bronze of the medal awarded at the recent textile exhibition.

Charles William Eliot

The President announced the death of Charles William Eliot, a member of the society since October 9, 1873, and called upon Dr. Walcott, who spoke as follows:

On a pleasant day in March, 1924, the twentieth day of that month, Charles William Eliot, with ninety years of age complete, appeared for the last time on the stage of Sanders Theatre, where he had so often in the name of the University bestowed upon distinguished persons of every nationality the highest honors of the University. Here, in the presence of a body of distinguished men and women who filled every seat in the Theatre, he was himself to receive on that stage the greatest honors of his life. For the Chief Justice of the United States, once our President, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the heads of the two great New England universities, the president of the Alumni Association, also a Justice of the Supreme Court at Washington, and a member of the undergraduate body, presented to him addresses in commemoration of his great and successful career.

Alert in mind and vigorous in body, he easily withstood all the fatigues of that exacting day, at the close of which he addressed in the open air the assembled students of the University from the steps of University Hall, which he had so often trodden seventy years before as an officer of the college. If there was ever such a university distinction as Foremost Citizen of the Republic, it seemed then to have been bestowed upon him.

The students at Harvard College of fifty years ago saw a tall, erect, vigorous man, moving rapidly through the college yard to his appointed task, serious in countenance, reserved in manner, paying little attention to those he met — not as a matter of choice, but because his always imperfect eyesight made it difficult for him to recognize those he casually met. The students of that day thought him severe, unsympathetic, but they were always proud of the dignified and impressive man who so well represented the University on all public occasions.

How incorrect the student estimate of that day really was, it is my purpose to disclose, and to do this one must go back to the beginnings of his life. He was born on Beacon Hill, the only son in the family of six children. Both parents represented families distinguished in the history of the city for many generations. With his fortunate birth he brought into the world a blemish upon the face which exposed him necessarily to the unfeeling and rude comment of the boy of the street, possibly also of some of his own associates. The effect of this upon a sensitive boy can be well understood, and may have had, and probably did have, some influence upon his manner in after life. But during his adult life no one of his associates ever noticed the defect upon his well-chiselled and attractive features. This defect, which would have oppressed most men, whatever influence it may have had upon his manner, never embittered his disposition as it so often does.

He was graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1853, second scholar in his class; a rank the more creditable from the fact that he was even then compelled to resort to the assistance of a reader. He early chose his career in life. He was to be a teacher, and in 1854, at the age of twenty, was appointed tutor in mathematics in Harvard College. How slender the

rewards of any teacher's position necessarily are must have been known to him, for his father was the treasurer of Harvard College and a member of its Corporation. While still a tutor he saw the ample fortune of his father dispelled in the commercial crisis of 1857. No one of his associates at that time ever heard him murmur at the change in his fortunes. His regrets were only for others.

He subsequently became assistant professor of mathematics and chemistry in Harvard College, and here his career as teacher ended for the time being. He then visited Europe to prosecute his studies in chemistry and incidentally to study the university methods of the Continent. He had already been assured of the position of professor of analytical chemistry in the newly founded Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This position he held in 1869 and was also at that time a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College when his nomination to be president of the college was sent down by the Corporation to the Board of Overseers for confirmation. As is well known, the Overseers hesitated to confirm, and it was only upon a subsequent renomination by the Corporation that they did confirm, the appointment.

What his position at that time was with regard to the presidency of the college is well shown in a chance interview which he had one morning while on his way from his home in Chestnut Street to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with Francis Parkman, the historian, friend of the family, who said to him:

"I suppose you ought to understand that I was in favor of another candidate for the presidency" — and he named his candidate.

Mr. Eliot at once said: "He was my candidate; he is my friend and I wanted him to be president. I have never sought the nomination; I don't want it. I was too near President James Walker during his administration, I saw enough of the troubles of Dr. Hill during his presidency, not to be aware of the burdens of that office, and I don't care to assume them. I am content with my present position and in the saddened state of my household I have no thought of selecting another." His wife was then dying.

Mr. Eliot, upon his election to the presidency, found him-

self in the company of six gentlemen who with himself formed the Corporation of Harvard College. They were all much older than he, men of established position in the community, and their able and far-sighted senior member was Mr. John A. Lowell. The young president very soon acquired the confidence of his associates and found in them steadfast supporters of the policies which he had so thoroughly laid out in his inaugural address as president. These policies he pursued without haste, without rest, down to the end of his administration. And when in 1909 he laid down his office, he knew that other changes were impending and must be made if Harvard was to maintain its leading position among the universities of the land. The changes have been made and Mr. Eliot remained to the end of his life a loyal supporter of the administration of the affairs of the university.

His activities were by no means ended with his resignation as president. Quite soon after that he made a tour to the Far East in the interests of the Carnegie Peace Foundation and made an interesting report upon the results of that visit. There was no cause of general welfare which did not interest him in the subsequent years of his life. There was none to which he did not contribute a service of the highest value.

The impression which Mr. Eliot made upon the students of fifty years ago was, as such estimates often are, incomplete and imperfect. What manner of man he was it is my purpose to show. That he was courageous all men knew. Physical courage, fortunately, is not so rare a possession that we need to commend it. But he had with his physical courage a presence of mind which never failed him, even to the end of his days. And he had that higher courage — intellectual or moral, whichever you choose to call it — which made it possible for him, if need be, to stand alone — not as weaker men do, for the purpose of attracting attention to themselves, but because he believed it to be his duty, the duty of every man who had well-founded opinions conscientiously formed, to express them on any fitting occasion. And this he did invariably without a resort to passionate utterance or an appeal to prejudice, but always with reasonable arguments. And so when he appeared alone upon the stage in Faneuil Hall as the guest of the assembled labor unions and made manifest his interest in any

measure that could improve conditions of the laboring men, he dissented vigorously from many of their economic theories, he opposed their interference with the labor of the individual, but from the beginning to the end of his address there was nothing but reasons urged without passion which no intelligent men could resent. And so his audience parted from him with the utmost testimony of respect, however little they may have been convinced as to the cogency of his reasoning.

It was so also in the circle of his intimates. He never concealed an opinion which he felt it the duty of every reasonable man to express, but always in the same dispassionate manner. He had patience, the patience that enabled him to listen to the complaints, however trivial, of those who had a right to be heard. Careful and prudent in the management of his own affairs, he generously answered every appeal for aid in any cause of charity or public welfare in the community in which he lived, apparently to the very limit of his resources.

He was never a seeker for leadership, but he was a leader because men found in him the capacity to lead, and such men never fail of a following. But he was also a faithful follower in any cause in which he believed and which seemed to him to have a leader capable of leadership. And this without much regard to whether the leader was personally agreeable to him or not, provided he showed capacity to lead.

He was capable of a self-effacement and a regard for those with whom it was his business to co-operate, which was well illustrated on the occasion of the commemoration of his fifty years membership in this Society, three years ago, when, in answer to the generous introduction of the president of this Society, he saw fit to limit the account of the activities of his life to the story of his service as president of Harvard College. The only failure, it seems to me, in this address lies in the fact that little is revealed of the essential, the absolutely pre-eminent services of the great leader in the movement that brought Harvard College out of its somewhat cloistered position, with the traditions of more than two centuries behind it, into the life of a full university. But he did mention with words of just praise the men who co-operated with him in that great work, but whose co-operation was possible only under a great leader.

Two illustrations of the qualities which it has been my effort to describe may be found in two instances occurring during the last years of the previous century. Early in the 'Nineties the Corporation, composed of men of the president's own age, perhaps some of them younger, had informally made up their minds that the salary of the president should be increased. Accordingly a motion to carry that into effect was made at a meeting of the Corporation. Mr. Eliot had never taken any interest in the question of his own salary, had discouraged any discussion of it, and so this motion was a disagreeable surprise to him. He made a hasty objection to it. When he perceived that his objection was unavailing, he said:

" I am opposed to this measure, for it is no time to increase the salaries of our teaching staff. The University cannot afford it, and I am absolutely opposed to any change in the salary of the president, because that salary is now proportionately as much above the salaries of his associates as it ought to be; and unless all the salaries are increased this increase in the president's salary is distasteful to me, for it has a tendency to remove me, even in appearance only, perhaps, from the great body of the teachers of Harvard College."

The other instance is of much the same character. The years of storm and stress were drawing to a close as the twenty-fifth anniversary of his election as president was approaching. A number of friends of the college met in a room in State Street for the purpose of considering the proposal to give some material evidence of their satisfaction with Mr. Eliot's administration. The meeting came to no definite conclusion, but appointed a committee to find out, if they could, what would be agreeable to Mr. Eliot. When informed of the purpose of the committee, he said at once:

" I don't want these gentlemen to give me a sum of money. I don't want that. There are other men who have served the University as long, some longer than I have served it, and they have served it as faithfully."

To the question whether some fund to bear his name for any purpose useful to the University would meet with the same objections, after a pause he replied:

" No. The University needs funds and when it comes to a question of name, that, fortunately, is already settled in my

mind. My grandfather, Samuel Eliot, more than eighty years ago gave a fund to Harvard College for the establishment of a professorship of Greek literature. The authorities of the college at the time of the gift thought it a very generous one. Perhaps it was, but it is absolutely insufficient now for the support of the professorship, and the learned Greek scholar who now holds that professorship would find it difficult to pay his house rent out of its income, and so it has to be eked out from other university funds. Therefore, if anybody chooses to increase that fund, it would be of benefit to the university, and I am quite willing that my family name should be used."

When the committee made its report a gentleman present, a relative of Mr. Eliot's, said:

"I am a grandson of Samuel Eliot, as well as the President, and I have already made a provision for that fund which I think would satisfy him even."

And when Mr. Edmund Dwight died, a few years later, there was found in his will a provision for the increase of the Samuel Eliot Fund which has made it one of the well-endowed professorships in the university.

And lastly, as to a misinformed opinion that he was unsympathetic and not likely to take much interest in the misfortunes of his fellows, no man at all intimately connected with Harvard College during his service there can be ignorant of many cases, several pathetic, some even tragic, where Mr. Eliot was one of the first to come to the aid of those who appeared to need his help. But it would be disloyal to his memory to attempt to record instances of the good will which he held to be every man's duty. With all his good fortune he had also known the most poignant sorrows that can come to men.

But it was in another place that all the gentler qualities of his nature were allowed to come to the surface — allowed because some indistinct tradition in the college world may have interfered with the free exhibition of these qualities in Cambridge. But it is only fair to say that if there be this tradition, it has been wholly dispelled at the present day.

More than fifty years ago Mr. Eliot had been in the habit of cruising along the Maine shore in a yacht with his young sons. He had been early attracted to the beauties of Mount Desert, and here he was fortunately able, before the ad-

vent of millionaire and multimillionaire, to acquire a large area of land on the western slope of Asticou. Here he built his modest house upon a rocky eminence, well above the shores of the bay. And here the master and the mistress of the house — she who had brought so much happiness into his life — exercised that hospitality which no one who enjoyed it can forget. The guest might be some man of world-wide eminence, but many more bore names that will never appear in history. The welcome was the same, the attention the same. The pleasures were the simple pleasures of outdoor life — sailing on the waters of the bay under his skilled direction, excursions to some favored spot on Mount Desert or some equally attractive place on some one of the many islands within easy reach. In all these affairs the host himself was not only the director but the active manager. There was no detail which he had not arranged and throughout the day he was the most active agent in promoting the comfort and the pleasure of his companions.

Let it not be supposed that his whole day was a day of pleasure. There was no part of it when some attention was not given to business brought with him from Cambridge or forced upon him by a correspondence that seemed without limit.

His father had had an interest in what is now called landscape architecture. He had also that interest and shared it throughout the life of his son Charles Eliot, whose early death deprived the country of one who had shown a remarkable capacity in the development and improvement of scenes in and about this metropolis, works which will remain a fitting monument to his memory.

With this interest Mr. Eliot soon made himself acquainted with every nook and corner of the Island. But he did more than that. He probably knew more than any summer resident of the lives and fortunes of the native population of the islands. He entered most heartily into their lives and fortunes with an interest which would have been inquisitive in a smaller man but in him was the result of the warmest sympathy — a sympathy well exhibited in that wonderful piece of good English, his little book narrating the life history of John Gilley, the sturdy fisherman who lost his life in the icy waters of the bay.

Devoutly religious himself, he aided in the establishment of

the Union Chapel where services are held during the summer season by visiting clergymen of the various Christian denominations. From these he was rarely absent.

He returned to Mount Desert year after year with ever-increasing satisfaction, and it became to him in the course of time the dearest spot on earth. He seemed to have with regard to it something of the feeling of that giant of old who found renewed strength by his contact with the soil. For all his inconveniences, all his discomforts, seemed to disappear, did disappear, as he approached Mount Desert at the end of his labors in Cambridge. And it was hither that by an exercise of iron will which surprised all of his household, he made his last journey in June of this year, and it was here, serenely looking to the end, that he died peacefully on the 22nd of August, 1926.

What can we say of this life but that it was a life of service from the beginning to the end — service in the cause of education in its widest possible domain; service at the end to one of the greatest causes that can occupy the mind of man, the cause of peace among the nations of the world; and, lastly, a service to any neighbor who might appear to be in need of it.

Mr. Lowell then read as follows:

In reflecting on the words to say this afternoon about President Eliot, the recollection of his tall erect figure brought back the imperishable memory of his power — austere, serene, unruffled and unmoved by opposition; and he had much opposition to encounter. He told us here three years ago about some of it, and how he overcame it. In the Board of Overseers it began at his election and continued long. Indeed, like that of most innovators, his track was never wholly smooth. Even at the close, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which as a member I could observe, was a restless body. But from the outset he threw aside the buffeting surges, kept on his course, and seems to have felt no more ill will to those who opposed him than a sailor does to the head seas he encounters. Nor did he flinch, or relax his plans for raising the standard of professional training, when they caused for years a heavy reduction in the number of students, and were widely disapproved in the pro-

fessions themselves; but he persisted until his policy won universal recognition. The great qualities that marked his career seem to me to have been above all strength of conviction, courage and magnanimity.

With his puritan force of character, he combined a philosophy close to that of Bentham's utilitarian school, and he applied it logically to undergraduates by the elective system. One reason for this was that he regarded the College chiefly as a place for learning the subjects that would practically best fit a man for his subsequent career. He believed that the older classical training was essentially professional in its nature, and that modern academic teaching should have that object. In fact, his interest in education had a distinctly vocational cast; and the tendency of his work was an increase in the time spent in the professional schools, as compared with the college which he desired to reduce from four to three years. It may be observed that a vocation having been definitely selected by the student's entering a professional school the elective principle was applied comparatively little. With this interest predominating it is natural that his most enduring contributions have been in the direction of professional training.

Through the work of Langdell, whose genius he had the insight while still an undergraduate to perceive, he remodeled the Law School, making it the greatest institution for the teaching of the Common Law that the world has ever known, so that all the best schools of the kind in America owe their standing to copying it. He reformed the Medical School by introducing a systematic order of teaching that in its principal outlines remains, and will remain, a lasting monument of his sagacity. These two feats alone, if there were not many others besides, would be enough to establish his position in American education.

But there were many others, for his watchful care extended over every part of the institution which was ever increasing in complexity. When he became President it was a small university, and under his hand it grew without his losing grasp of every detail. To the end he had a personal knowledge of the teaching staff, and even of its younger members, that no one can ever have again; and he met the daily problems that arose with the sure touch of a master hand.

Yet he was in no true sense a master, for every professor was left free to do his own work in his own way, as he must be if a university is to be strong and great. A university is a strange industry, for its output is men and knowledge. A factory is popularly judged by its profits, which can be accurately measured, and its results are soon shown. But the worth of a university is intangible, and its products may not be manifest for a generation. Mr. Eliot had faith in his ideas, with the patience to wait, the courage to persist, and the good fortune to remain, until they bore fruit. Therefore he imparted to the institution in an extraordinary degree the impress of his remarkable personality.

Mr. Storey read the following tribute:

Great as were President Eliot's services to the cause of education, and striking as was his pre-eminence among scholars, it was not because of these that he was called " The first citizen of the United States." The word " citizen " so used means " private citizen." Office of any kind gives its holder a title, president, senator, constable, but " citizen " is untainted by any association with politics or personal ambition. He is one who like Brutus acts " in a general honest thought and common good to all," and like Brutus may earn even from his enemies the verdict that " This was the noblest Roman of them all."

The citizen is he who realizes that foremost among his duties is his duty to the state, the duty to study the questions which arise in the conduct of its affairs, to determine what is right, and then to do all that in him lies by pen and voice and vote to guide his fellow-countrymen, seeking nothing for himself, disregarding personal consequences, uninfluenced by the *civium ardor prava jubentium*. Such a citizen was President Eliot to the very end of his life.

The atmosphere and the feelings of the Civil War controlled political action in this country until after the second election of President Grant, but the men who gathered about him, and the revelations of corruption in public affairs which he did not check, had alienated many leading men, and had the Democratic party nominated Charles Francis Adams he would very likely have been elected when Horace Greeley failed.

The second administration of Grant, during which scandals multiplied, led to an uprising, and after a very bitter campaign Hayes was declared elected.

After 1880, when the movement for reform in the civil service was gathering strength, Mr. Eliot became active as an advocate of reform, and later when the reformers decided to make an aggressive campaign, and Col. Theodore Lyman was elected to Congress from the Ninth Massachusetts District, there was a ferment in the Cambridge district and Mr. Eliot was a prominent advocate of independent action. Indeed I have always felt, though perhaps without warrant, that if the independents had urged him to stand as their candidate for Congress he would have done so. We may speculate as to the consequences, but certainly a sincere, brave and very able leader would have taken his place in the House of Representatives. The best opinion of the country would have found expression in the debates, and the political history of the country might have been altered. It has been well said that " One man in earnest is a majority."

Unfortunately the reformers could not make up their minds, and while they vacillated Leopold Morse was nominated and elected. As a result and an encouragement to independents Congress passed in haste and with no serious discussion the reform bill, at which its members had sneered a few months before. To the cause of civil service reform Mr. Eliot remained devoted, and as a member and a President of the National League rendered it great service.

The election of Lyman and Morse was in 1882. In 1884 the Republican party nominated James G. Blaine for President, and an immediate revolt ensued which split the party. Mr. Eliot came at once to the front and in the meeting held in Boston as soon as possible after the nomination he made a powerful speech and took an active part in the Committee of One Hundred, formed to organize and prosecute the Mugwump campaign, nor did he take his hand from the plough till Grover Cleveland was elected.

From that time to the end he was active in the support of all that was right in politics. It is not possible without recalling the history of the country and writing much of his biography even to mention all that Mr. Eliot did, but I may allude

briefly to a few of his contributions to the controversies of his time. He was the first leading American to advocate our taking sides in the World War against Germany. While the country was cultivating neutrality he felt as Patrick Henry felt when he said " Gentlemen may cry ' Peace, peace, but there is no peace,' " and he was right. We can see now that had his counsels been followed the world would not have suffered as it has suffered, and will suffer for many years to come, though it is possible to argue that peace without victory would only have meant postponement of the calamity. He supported the League of Nations, and had little patience with the action of its opponents in the Senate. He opposed the conquest and retention of the Philippines, and in any crisis he did not hesitate to raise his clear and strong voice in favor of a course consistent with the principles on which our government rests, and with the true interests of the country and mankind.

We could not hope that his life might be prolonged, but his death deprives us of a leader who leaves no successor, and the country is poorer for the lack of his wise and unselfish counsel. He was indeed a great American and a very great citizen.

Mr. Rhodes read the following note:

I have been asked to say a few words as friend and neighbour of Charles W. Eliot. As neighbours, we occupied houses on Mt. Desert Island, where he was a resident for forty years. A gleam of joyful intelligence went through his eyes when we announced our intention of making Mt. Desert Island our summer home, because he welcomed all new comers to the island. It was more than a summer home to him. He and Mrs. Eliot had chosen that spot after a drive about the island for many days because, from there, he could see the mountains and the sea. We were neighbours for four months of the year. When he was described as genial, those who were acquainted with him only in an official capacity were disposed to mistrust the description, but they should have seen him on the island, where he was companionable to a high degree; they should have enjoyed his hospitality, as he was a generous host. It was little wonder that he should have written a book on the island and asked an aged woman what, of God's mercies,

she had enjoyed the most. "Vittles," she answered. This calls to mind Charles Darwin's saying that he predicted long life from the evident enjoyment one took during the various meals. But Charles Eliot was no materialist. The journals, not a long while ago, teemed with Eliot's new religion which was thoroughly spiritual.

When John Morley visited Boston, it fell to me to be his host, and one day we took luncheon at Charles Eliot Norton's, his only acquaintance of his visit of years ago. Mr. Norton was in his most pessimistic mood. Now, Mr. Morley had read essays and speeches of Charles Eliot on the voyage over and enjoyed them much. He said to me, as we walked away together: "I did not like the way my old friend, Charles, talked; his pessimistic tone was too much. I liked your man, Eliot, much better; he made the most of things he encountered and did the best with them he could."

It was vouchsafed to me to spend a half-hour with Mr. Eliot shortly before he passed away. His conversation was of the old days. He asked me if my boyish days ever recurred to me. He said he had thought much of these. I told him I was very religious, even pious, when I was young. With a gleam of his old humour, he said, "You have got bravely over it." He talked about his exploit with a horse of Mr. Adams's which was lent to him while Mr. Adams was abroad. And then the veriest commonplaces made up our talk.

As I drove away, I could not help thinking, he was a man whose purity of life was matched by his purity of soul as he awaited the final summons, and I said to myself, we shall not look upon his like again.

William Sturgis Bigelow

The President announced the death of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, a Member of the Society since March 14, 1918 and called upon Dr. Shattuck, who read the following tribute:

There are those whose lives are passed in the open, in the forum, field, or pulpit; so-called captains of industry come naturally to mind. Such lives are easy to portray. On the

other hand, there are those who avoid coming, to say nothing of thrusting themselves, before the public, whose life is internal rather than external, who do not even write, who hide from one hand what the other hand doeth: to this second class belongs William Sturgis Bigelow whose passing impoverished earth and enriched Heaven a scant week ago.

It does not seem well, here at least, to set forth in detail the bald facts of his life; he had and sought not what is commonly called a career. Yet something one must say even in repetition. The law of heredity was manifested in him. Of his great-grandfather, the minister of Sudbury for forty years, I know nothing, and time to delve has been lacking; but a singularly clear, keenly analytical intellect characterized three generations, Jacob, Henry Jacob, and William Sturgis. That of Jacob (a member of our Society) and William Sturgis was more profound; that of Henry Jacob more brilliant. All three showed mechanical curiosity and ingenuity. The grandfather made the first modern application of the word technology in 1829, and largely influenced the founding of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He delivered the address at the opening of the new building of the Institute. Whether he had that deftness of hand which was so conspicuous in his son and grandson I know not. It was a pleasure to watch their manipulation — of what you will. All were clear in statement, in the written and spoken word alike. The two younger also cultivated terseness. The Bigelow intellect descended to Sturgis; his spiritual side came chiefly from his mother, Susan, daughter of William Sturgis. The deep and lasting impression she made in her brief life upon those who knew her best indicates how rare and winning a person she was. He lost her in very early boyhood and suffered the loss both consciously and unconsciously to the end, the conscious loss growing ever with time. He was an only child and never married. No father, however intelligent and solicitous, can be a mother to a child, especially to one so delicately organized, so shy and sensitive as was Sturgis. As he grew older he learned to conceal his shyness in a measure. But his sensitiveness, screened though it was, increased through life as ever wider experience and contact with the joys, and yet more the sufferings, of others intensified his sympathy and enlarged his understanding heart.

Among both the quick and the dead are numbered so many into whose perturbed spirit he poured a healing balm.

Like his grandfather and father he was bred to medicine; but he soon found that the plough of practice did not uncover the deep soil of his nature. He lacked the vigorous health and a certain toughness of fibre which a practitioner must have. Had he been more robust, and had some other things been otherwise, he might well have done great service and won fame in research; for he had the chief essential qualities, the exercise of which to the full ample private means could foster. Moreover, the training he received at the hands of Pasteur and Ranvier in the last half of the seventies rounded out his scientific possibilities. But after two years' trial, in 1881 he put aside practical medicine and went to Japan, staying seven years without break. There he became interested in Northern Buddhism, studying it profoundly and practically. With this foundation he later acquired, as I believe, a more thorough and real understanding of Buddhism than is possessed by any other Occidental, especially of what is known as Anglo-Saxon blood. This understanding is suggested in the most notable of his few publications, the 1908 Ingersoll lecture on Buddhism and Immortality, now out of print. It is a masterpiece and should be reprinted.

I have heard him speak of Northern Buddhism as a philosophy rather than a religion. To him it was both. He rarely if ever volunteered to talk about Buddhism, though sometimes in intimacy could be led to talk about it. In a mediæval setting he might have been a mediæval saint, or a mystic, or might even have founded an enduring order; but New England and the present day breeds saints of another type. Osler had equanimity by nature and cultivated it. Bigelow was far from serene by nature, but acquired and cultivated serenity into an outstanding characteristic of his later years. For this the credit is doubtless due largely to his Buddhistic study and practice.

The material side of his Japan sojourn must be alluded to. I refer to his collection of Japanese art. He chanced on the brief period when hitherto private art treasures came on the market from daimios and the temples. The dollar went farther in those days, and behind it was Bigelow's taste, love

of beauty and appreciation of the finest workmanship. Fenollosa and E. S. Morse collaborated with both Bigelow and the late Dr. Charles G. Weld in many of their purchases. Both the Bigelow and Weld collections were given to the Art Museum, and form, with additions which Bigelow was constantly making, the finest collection of its kind in the world. No single collection in Japan itself is its equal. To neither gift was any name or hampering condition attached.

Music, painting and sculpture were all very dear to him, and many an artist is in his debt. In many, many lines his generosity was unfailing. Moreover, he did not, like the Pharisee, give to be seen of men.

Emerson tells us to shun the superlative. But only a superlative is adequate to characterize him as a host, whether at 56 Beacon Street or at Tuckanuck, that uniquest of unique establishments, the seat of a double material luxury, that of the presence of everything essential as well as that of the carefully thought out elimination of the superfluous. The Bigelow practical genius was seen in the production of a desired result by the simplest means. The company, the talk; the bluefish, scup and little necks; the baths, especially those of sun, air, sea and surf and sand; the delicious soft climate; the ever-changing beauty of sea and sky, the sunsets — the sunrises I cannot say much about — the peace. All these were welded into a perfect whole. Here he could be content alone for weeks on end, thought and contemplation sufficing him.

He was a subtle promoter of talk, an insensible stimulus thereto rather than a talker himself. So it was in a group. He listened and with understanding. It was in sympathetic talk with a single person that his light burned brightest.

Cabot Lodge, our late and lamented President, was his friend from earliest boyhood. The active spirit of the one was in sharp contrast with the contemplative spirit of the other; but they formed a happy union. It was through Lodge, after the Blaine campaign, that Bigelow came into close relation with Roosevelt, the junior of both. Brooks Adams, of '72, was Lodge's brother-in-law. Henry Adams married a loved first cousin of Bigelow. The tie between him and Phillips Brooks became a close one, each profiting thereby. Bishop Lawrence was a valued classmate. " A Great Gentleman," as our fellow-

burned brightest.

Cabot Lodge, our late and lamented President, was his friend from earliest boyhood. The active spirit of the one was in sharp contrast with the contemplative spirit of the other; but they formed a happy union. It was through Lodge, after the Blaine campaign, that Bigelow came into close relation with Roosevelt, the junior of both. Brooks Adams, of '72, was Lodge's brother-in-law. Henry Adams married a loved first cousin of Bigelow. The tie between him and Phillips Brooks

Sir Francis Drake

From a portrait in the Mayor's Parlor, Plymouth, Eng.

HISTORICA

member, Henry Walcott, recently spoke of him to me, has passed from us leaving the sweetest of memories. The kaleidoscope of life does not repeat.

I cannot forbear quoting an extract from A. C. Benson's *Silent Isle*. It seemed to me so apposite that I copied and sent it to Bigelow on reading it. Modest he was, and, in a way, self-distrustful, though conscious of power; often feeling that his life had not been productive. He has glorified his city and spread beauty before generations of the sons and daughters of men with seeing eyes.

> Some of the most useful people I know are people who not only think least about being useful, but are ready to condemn themselves for their desultoriness. The people who have time to listen and to talk, to welcome friends and to sympathize with them, to enjoy and to help others to enjoy, seem to me often to do more for the world than the people who hurry from committee to committee, address meetings, and do what is called some of the drudgery of the world, which might in a hundred cases be just as well undone. It is most of it merely a childish game either way; and the child who looks on and applauds is often better employed than the child who makes a long score, and thinks of nothing else for the rest of the afternoon.

The impressive benediction with which Bishop Lawrence closed the funeral service last Friday ends with " Give you peace both now and evermore."

Our friend has entered into that Great Peace which passeth all understanding.

Mr. BOLTON presented a paper on

THREE PLYMOUTH PORTRAITS

When in Plymouth, England, in July, 1925, my son and I visited the " Mayor's Parlour " to see several old portraits about which the clerks in local art stores knew nothing and of which no photographs were to be had. Indeed, the doorkeeper of the Municipal Buildings said that they had not been copied and permission to have them photographed could not be obtained.

Over the mantel in the Parlour hangs a portrait of King

Charles the Second which is notorious because his royal eyes follow the visitor about the room.

On the wall opposite King Charles are three portraits that arrest the attention at once. I now, with the help of Miss Mae M. Bradford of the Athenaeum staff, elaborate notes which I made at the time of my visit:

I. Sir Francis Drake's portrait is on a panel, inscribed "Ætatis Suæ 53, 1594," and is badly cracked between the head and the hand. The portrait is half-length, crudely painted, but gives an impression of a forceful personality in the short sturdy gentleman, with one hand placed possessively upon a globe. He looks out upon the world with an inquiring lift of one dark eyebrow and a determined set of the mouth which has, nevertheless, possibilities of humor. His brown hair is brushed back from a high forehead, his moustache pointed and his beard neatly trimmed, giving a hint of the dandy as does the starched tight ruff. He wears a long chain from which hangs the large jewelled pendant, bearing Queen Elizabeth's portrait in profile, presented by her in 1575, and still preserved by the family, as Mr. C. S. Gifford states.

A coat of arms in the upper left corner is that granted to Sir Francis Drake — Sable, a fess wavy between two stars argent. The crest has a globe with perhaps other details as recorded in Burke. These arms were granted to him by Queen Elizabeth in 1581, after the head of the Drake family of Ashe House in Devon had assailed him for using the red wyvern of their arms. According to Cooke, Clarenceux King-of-Arms, Drake had the right "by just descent and prerogative of birth" to bear the arms of his name and family — Argent, a wyvern gules — "with the difference of a third brother." The motto is *Sic parvis magna*.[1] The representation agrees well with the description in Stow's *Annals:* a man of low stature, of strong limbs, broad breasted, round headed, brown hair, full bearded; his eyes round, large, and clear; well favored, fair, and of a cheerful countenance.

Under the figure are verses which do not appear under the dressed up (but very similar) painting at Buckland Abbey,

[1] *The Genealogist* (Marshall), I. 209, where tracings of the arms are given from Ashmole MS. 834, f. 37.

road breasted, round headed, [illegible]
fair, and of a cheerful countenance.

Under the figure are verses which do not appear under the

[1] *The Genealogi*

Captain Robert Rawlyn

From a portrait in the Mayor's Parlor, Plymouth, Eng.

used as a frontispiece to the first volume of Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy*. The verses are:

Sir Drake whome well the worlds ends knowe
Which thou didst compasse rounde
And whome both poles of heaven ons saw
Which North and South do bound
The stars above, will make thee known,
If men here silent were,
The Sunn himself cannot forgett
His fellow traveller.

Greate Drake whose shippe aboute the world's wide wast
In three yeares did a golden girdle cast
Who with fresh streames refresht this towne that first
Though kist with watres yet did pine for thirst:
Who both a pilott and a magistrate
Steerd in his turne the Shippe of Plymouths state
This little table shewes his face, whose worth
The world's wide Table hardly can sett forth.

The Plymouth portrait (a panel 42 x 32 inches) was exhibited at South Kensington in April, 1866, by the corporation.[2]

II. At Drake's right on the wall of the Mayor's office is Captain Robert Rawlyn, mayor of Plymouth in 1620, a man of forty perhaps, with brown moustache, square beard, and thick hair upstanding from a high, square forehead. His doublet and full trunks (in the French style) are covered with small slashes in herring-bone pattern, and a jewelled buckle fastens his belt, but his flat linen collar and cuffs are severely plain. One slim white hand, quite out of keeping with his well-proportioned head, rests on a gracefully designed sword hilt. The portrait is three-quarters length, the panel cracked laterally on each side of the head. He was mayor when the *Mayflower* set sail September 6, 1620, from Plymouth, taking a little band of migrants, as was said, " Well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country."

III. On Drake's left is Sir John Hawkins, port admiral of Plymouth, on a panel dated 1596. He is seemingly very old, grey and worn, with a moustache, pointed grey-brown beard, and waving grey hair. His round white ruff is the only part of his costume distinguishable against the dark tones of the back-

[2] For an account of portraits of Sir Francis Drake, see Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World*, 508.

ground in which the small panel containing the head has been set. The painting is tight and hard, devoid of charm or beauty, but gives a greater impression of truthful representation than either of the others. This portrait is not mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. As it bears the inscription " fec Des 1596 " (he died 12 November, 1595, at sea) this must, if genuine, be a copy of some portrait painted late in life. I know no reproduction of it, but I have not seen a print of the Chatham Hospital portrait, nor of that of Hawkins, Drake and Cavendish together. The Plymouth portrait bears some resemblance to the doubtful " basso-relievo ivory bust in possession of the Revd. Bradford Dean Hawkins " which was lent to the Armada exhibition of 1888 at Drury Lane and is considered to be not very like the best authenticated portraits. It is not the same as that of 1591, exhibited on the same occasion, (a much more elaborate picture, with cap and arms), which has itself " not an unbroken tradition but is believed to be genuine."

These three striking portraits, whatever their history, are so closely associated with exploration in America that they should not be forgotten. Through Mr. Ford's initiative and the courtesy of the Mayor of Plymouth photographs have been obtained for the Society, for the Boston Athenaeum, and for Plymouth.

Plymouth.

Sir John Hawkins

From a portrait in the Mayor's Parlor, Plymouth, Eng.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 11, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Recording Secretary reported from the Council and read certain changes in chapter xiii of the By-Laws, relating to the publications of the Society, which the Council recommended, and under the By-Laws they were laid over for action at the December meeting.

The Librarian reported gifts:

From Grenville H. Norcross, several " Rewards of Merit," mostly of Addison Norcross, 1855 to 1857, given to him by Miss Mary Sigourney Watts' Primary School, McLean Street.

From Miss Helen Dwight Orvis, of Wellesley, at the request of Anna Quincy Thaxter Parsons, a volume of records of the Religious Union of Associationists, 1847 to 1850, mentioned in Swift's *Brook Farm*, 222.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Dr. Benjamin H. Codman, a painting of Brook Farm, West Roxbury, by Josiah Wolcott, of Boston, about 1843, showing the Hive, Shop, Phalanstery, Eyrie, Cottage, and Pilgrim House and the entrance to the grounds of the Community; also a cane cut and carved there by William Butterfield, a member, 1841–45.

From Gerrit S. Miller, James D'Wolf Lovett, and Winthrop S. Scudder, three bronze medals, designed by G. Prudhomme, and bearing their names, respectively, given by the Noble and Greenough School, annually, the first for the best average standing in athletics and scholarship, the second in baseball, and the third in the fine arts.

From Morgan H. Stafford, a medal of Washington and Lincoln.

From Grenville H. Norcross, photographs, a Sesqui-Centennial Medal, 1926, and fractional currency.

A bronze Medal of Admiral Dewey at Manila, designed by Daniel Chester French, 1898, and belonging to the late William Sturgis Bigelow.

Professor PEARSON read a paper on "France and the Spanish-American War," based upon the manuscripts of General Horace Porter, American Ambassador to France at that time, and forming a chapter in a forthcoming biography of General Porter.

Mr. MORISON read an essay on

TWO LETTERS OF HARRISON GRAY OTIS ON THE HARTFORD CONVENTION, 1814–1815

Two important letters from Harrison Gray Otis to Christopher Gore, one written just previous to and the other just after the Hartford Convention, have recently come to light among my family papers.[1] Together with the documents that I communicated to the Society in 1915,[2] and those printed in my *Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis* (1913), they appear to confirm the conclusions I then announced: that Otis did not wholly approve, much less originate the Convention; that he took part in the movement largely in order to exercise a moderating influence, but was of two minds regarding the possibilities before the Convention met.

Christopher Gore, as member of the "Essex Junto" and as junior Senator from Massachusetts, had to be kept informed, and Otis had every reason to be candid with him. The first letter, of December 3, 1814, was written six weeks after the Convention had been summoned by Massachusetts, and twelve days before it met at Hartford. On the same day John Lowell, who frankly advocated secession, wrote Timothy Pickering: "Mr. Otis is naturally timid, and frequently wavering. . . . He is sincere in wishing thorough measures; but a thousand fears restrain him."[3] John Lowell was one of that stern, uncompromising class of New Englanders, to whom the

[1] They are enclosed in the original wrapper addressed "Hon. Christopher Gore Esq. Washington," with Otis's seal, and accompanied by the following note addressed to Otis's son, William Foster Otis: "30 Court St., Feb. 25. Dear Sir — I send you two letters from your father to Mr. Gore, which came into my possession as executor of Mr. Payne's will. Yrs. truly, EDWARD BLAKE."

[2] *Proceedings*, XLVIII. 343–51.

[3] Henry Adams, *Documents relating to New England Federalism*, 411.

moderation and opportunism of men like Otis always seem immoral; but there was some truth in this statement. Otis makes it clear that he does not want secession, and that he hopes the Convention may, by some positive and concrete suggestions, appease the " revolutionary storm " in New England. Yet he is playing with the idea of having the Convention treat the Madison administration " as having *abdicated* the Government."

We may complete that thought in the light of other Federalist writings. Gouverneur Morris wrote Otis on November 8, that the General Court of Massachusetts should have said to the administration: " deprived, by your Neglect, of that Protection which it was your Duty to grant, and ordered to defend ourselves, we will do it as well as we can; employing for that Purpose all our Strength and Resources." [4]

Senator Jeremiah Mason wrote from Washington, November 24: " The government in all its departments is in great confusion, and there are alarming indications of approaching dissolution. . . . If the war goes on the States will be left in a great degree to take care of themselves. What this will end in it is impossible to foresee. This is the cause from which, in my opinion, a dissolution of the Union is to be apprehended." [5]

Daniel Webster wrote from Washington on November 29: " We are here on the Eve of great events. I expect a blow up soon. . . . Everything is in confusion here. . . . In short, if Peace does not come this winter, the Govt. will die in its own weakness." And on December 22: " The Govt. *cannot last,* under this war, and in the hands of these men another twelve month. Not that opposition will break it down, but it will break itself down. It will go out. This is my sober opinion." [6]

The following April, in conversation with Christopher Gore, George Cabot " expressed his unaltered conviction, that the worst of evils would be a dissolution of the Union, and all the good which could arise from the Convention would be, in case of a total failure of all the powers of the Federal Govt. that a sort of organized body would be in existence, which might

[4] S. E. Morison, *Harrison Gray Otis,* II. 182.
[5] G. S. Hillard, *Mem. and Cor. of Jeremiah Mason* (Camb. 1873), 104–106.
[6] *Writings of Webster* (National ed.), XVI. 31, 32.

attempt to provide for the exigencies of the moment, and that all their endeavors were to avoid doing anything." [7]

Of course if the Hartford Convention had taken the attitude suggested by Otis, it could hardly have refrained from adopting the policy advocated by Timothy Pickering: to draw up a new Federal Constitution with special safeguards for New England interests, and present it, as an ultimatum, to the original Thirteen States.[8] Fortunately the Convention attempted nothing of the sort.

The second letter, of January 21, 1815, was written two weeks after the Hartford Convention adjourned, when its report was before the General Court of Massachusetts for consideration and action. The language and temper of the letter prove, if it were still necessary to prove, that Otis wished to avoid a quarrel with the Federal Government,[9] and was wholly adverse to secession. The proposed " embassy " to Washington, in which Otis took part to his subsequent sorrow, was evidently not to his liking; and his reasons against that method of dealing with the Federal Government are sound and sensible. It is also clear that the principal object of this " embassy " was the avowed one, to divert Federal revenues into State treasuries.

Harrison Gray Otis to Christopher Gore

Boston, Dec. 3, 1814.

My dear Sir, — I am indebted to you for two valuable favors. There is not it seems sufficient " virtue extant " to give you a federal President of the Senate.[10] I do not regret it. In the present state of affairs it would have been regarded by the majority as a condescension demanding a great equivalent and by the half-way Federalists as an overture entitled to prodigious candour and forbearance. Besides I am not sure that it would not have spoiled the man

[7] Gore to King, 11 April 1815, C. R. King, *Rufus King*, v. 476.

[8] Morison, *Otis*, II. 115–24.

[9] Cf. Morison, *Otis*, II. 162.

[10] The death of Vice-President Gerry on November 23, made it necessary to elect a President of the Senate. As President Madison was ill, and the President of the Senate was next in succession after the Vice-President, this election assumed considerable importance. The Federalists supported Rufus King, but in the election (November 25) he received only ten votes to sixteen for John Gaillard of South Carolina. See *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 207.

on whom the choice might have fallen for better services.[11] If the clock has run down why try to move the hand by pushing it round. Wind it up if you can, otherwise buy a new one.[12]

As the period of the Hartford meeting approaches, and the public expectation augments, I feel the weight and responsibility of my appointment press heavily upon my mind. The hurry and bustle of my professional and private occupations, have not, I have the vanity to think, rendered me altogether contemptible as a political auxiliary in the ordinary administration of affairs; but I do exceedingly mistrust my own skill and talents as a pilot in a revolutionary storm, and I fear for myself the more, because my impulse is strong and increasing towards a very decided and energetic course of measures. You know that I require a great deal of screwing to work me up to the plan of a Convention, but a greater power will be necessary to get me down. My present propensity is to consider and to treat the administration as having *abdicated* the Government.

The minds of men here are preparing with gloomy firmness to second the efforts of the Convention, and the public sentiments will probably outrun any uneasiness which they may recommend. Indeed it is the opinion of my best informed friends from the Country, that a reliance upon some *effectual suggestions* from that body, alone prevents a violent ferment and open opposition in many places. It is dreadful to reflect that the sentiment in Maine and on our South Shore is hourly gaining proselytes, that the people at Castine and Nantucket are the happiest and most prosperous part of the Union.[13] With these feelings predominating and armies and detachments quartered in different parts of the Country, what awaits us, but to be conquer'd piecemeal and to be exhausted and ruined before we are conquered.

I am well informed that young John writes to old John[14] "saying," The British Com[mission]ers have no tho't of peace. That they vary their terms capriciously and play a deceitful part, receding as ours advance, and aiming merely to throw the odium of a rupture upon our envoys. Old John addeth, as his own Commen-

[11] Rufus King became the Federalist candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1816.

[12] Otis does not paragraph his letters, but indicates a break in the thought by a long dash.

[13] There are numerous hints in contemporary writings that the occupied portions of the New England coast, which were enjoying prosperity through the expenditures of the British fleet and army, were ready for secession, or annexation to Canada. The town meeting of Nantucket was currently reported to have declared its neutrality to the war.

[14] John Quincy Adams and John Adams.

tary that we are to have a seven years war — the idea of *Frederick* as poor Hamilton said still running in his brain.

Those who ought to be best versed in the dispositions and resources of the monied men here are quite confident that no bank which you can organize will receive the support necessary for its operations.[15] Confidence is gone. Government has lost its character irretrievably. There is an evident suspence in expectation of great changes and events, and I hope those will not be disappointed who believe that something more than scolding and bullying will be thought necessary for the dignity of those who are called to act and the safety of those who will be advised to follow. Respect[full]y and with esteem Y[our] friend and serv. H. G. Otis.

Boston, Jany 21, 1815.

My dear Sir, — I have "ow'd you one," ever since the receipt of your favour rec'd at Hartford upon the eve of our meeting in Convention, but I have not found a moment to write you a mere letter of acknowledgement, and nothing has occur'd to furnish materials for a letter of another description. The Legislature has conven'd, but the Members do not flock in, as if they expected to decide upon concerns of pith and moment. The proceedings of the Convention, though generally approved, are adapted rather to appease than produce excitement, and I should fear from appearances, that a state of apathy had been the result, did I not find reason to hope that [it] is a state of calm reflection, which is the precursor of a sound and united public sentiment. It was natural for those whose sense of the desperate condition of the Country presented to them an impenetrable gloom, to hope that others might afford them a light, which they did not possess. Everyone could approach to the verge of a precipice, but no man could discover a winding path, which might lead by an easy descent to the champaign Country. Hence probably some secret disappointment, although very little is express'd. I can hardly tell you yet, what course will be adopted in reference to the recommendation of the Convention. The favorite project is to send on Agents who may with the aid of the Senators and Representatives, negotiate with Government for an appropriation of some part of the taxes to be levied within the State, for local defense to be undertaken by ourselves, so that a portion of them may *as collected* be paid into our State Treasury. My private opinion is on the whole adverse to such special deputation, believing that our delegates could do all which can be done; and that the more éclat and bustle accompany the measure, the greater will be

[15] A reference to the effort to re-charter the Bank of the United States.

the virulence and zeal used to defeat its success. But the general opinion is that as the delegates will be judges of the measure, and call'd to act in a legislative capacity upon the application, it is expedient to appoint persons for this special duty.

I have heard of a bill in your Senate authorizing the States to raise men for local defence, to be paid by the General Government.[16] I am not apprised of its details. But should such a bill pass, where could be the reasonable objection on the part of administration to stipulate, that a certain portion of the taxes collected in these States should be paid into the State Treasury, and credited to the U. S. for defraying the expense of such troops. Suppose you should, as of your own motion, sound Dallas or some other ass upon the subject. If false pride is in the way, let Govt. itself originate a project for giving this power to the Executive, and thus avoid the appearance of yielding any point to the reasonable importunity of this people. I should presume they would prefer such an arrangement to an organized resistance to the tax-gatherers, and I verily believe they must take their choice.[17]

It is among the possibilities that I may see you at Washington. A Journey thither and back at this season, will be a delectable variety of public employment; I shall however not easily be fascinated with the proposal however inviting. If I should be compeled, I shall bespeak your interest in obtaining lodgings, as near yourself as possible.

You will have heard that the Governour means to keep his post for at least another year.

Mr. Lloyd's letter you will have seen. The style is gorgeous and of the matter you will judge for yourself. Jack pounced upon the Virginian the day after the original letter appeared, and I am told received a hint, that the hon[ora]ble Senator wished to be his own Respondent.[18]

I am Dear Sir very sincerely and with esteem, yr. obed. friend and servt. H. G. Otis.

[16] The bill which received President Madison's signature on January 27, 1815, authorizing him to receive into the Federal service and pay, troops organized by the States exclusively for service within their limits. This act was made much of in Otis's defense of the Hartford Convention. Morison, *Otis*, II. 161–62.

[17] A number of distillers or publicans in Hampshire County, where disaffection was most rife, actually refused at this time to pay the federal excise. Otis, in his "embassy" to Washington in February, 1815, induced the Secretary of the Treasury (the "ass" Dallas) to withdraw suits against the delinquents. *Ibid.*, 196–97.

[18] John Randolph's remarkable open letter to James Lloyd Jr., formerly Senator from Massachusetts, is printed in W. C. Bruce, *John Randolph*, II. 713–27, and Niles's *Register*, VII. 258–62. "Jack" is probably John Lowell.

A third letter of Otis, which I discovered at the same time with the preceding, has nothing to do with the Hartford Convention, but is an excellent example of Otis's gossipy, humorous style. It is addressed to his father-in-law, William Foster of Boston. Otis at the time of writing was United States Senator from Massachusetts.

Harrison Gray Otis to William Foster

Washington, 5 Jany., 1819.

Dear Sir, — I am glad to wish you another happy new year, and health to enjoy the pleasures and blessings which it brings. You are not I am told always quite so robust as you have been accustomed to be, but we all must expect intimations of approaching age. Even so smart and alert as I sometimes feel, I have my aches and pains and indeed know of nobody that is free from them. I have sent you occasionally a newspaper to amuse you, and would have written something to the same end; but really there is nothing afloat on the political current which is worth wetting ones fingers to pick up, which is not conveyed to you in the newspaper. Congress have not gain'd much by meeting early. We are the disciples of habit, and can't work till after Christmas. Like other lazy families, make a bustle and get the children up ever so early, nothing is done before breakfast. We have a new Convention with Great Britain before the Senate, but until it is ratified, I am under an injunction of secrecy, though Mr. Crawford and other gentlemen of the Cabinet have spoken of it out of doors. On the whole, it will be found advantageous to us, placing the Fisheries on a satisfactory footing, and disposing of some other points. Those which are not disposed of, particularly the West-Indian trade, are in a fair train, and what poor Ames used to say of the "amicable disposition of Great Britain" is at least verified at this moment. For which some people will be very sorry. I don't know what course will be taken in respect to General Jackson.[19] There is always a disposition in Republics to overlook the faults of military men in consideration of their services. In the present instance I do not think he ought to be sacrificed to the manes of the fellows he shot and throttled, but a hint should be given him that we are none of us above the laws. I doubt whether any such hint will be given.

We have cold weather here, and the night before last a deep snow. This they call Boston weather, being used to consider Boston the

[19] Jackson's invasion of Florida in pursuit of the Seminoles.

great store house of political breezes and *high winds,* but they have not much to boast of over us. I was caught in the snow at a friend's house 12 miles from the city, and yesterday morning he insisted upon sending us home in a *sleigh.* So the negro carpenters were set to work to vamp it up, and in we tumbled, with a Maryland Senator for Coachman, and at the end of the first mile he bounced upon a covered stump, overset the apple cart, and choused all our dignities into the snow. The horses went off and the sleigh was broken up into *kindlings.* No harm to the bipeds. Our own carriages were near and we got home very tolerably.

We have good markets and high prices and bad Cooks — not a descendant of Betty Parkman hereabouts. She never travelled this way I mean. Canvas backs not come — said to be scared away by the steam boats. We had a codfish here however last week, that would have not disgraced Nixes mate. I suppose he was going round for the Selectmen.

As you promised last year that I should be at your wedding, I take it for granted you will *forbear* untill my return this year, but remember Doctor Hunt. He tried all the widows in three counties and because he told them his object in a wife was principally to keep his back warm, they were all *hands off,* and he was obliged as he said to sleep with no live creature but a bedbug. Present my remembrances to Miss Charlotte and Miss Virginia and, as Rutledge says to me, I hope to see you soon without a grey hair in your head. Yours respectfully and with friendship

H. G. Otis.

Mr. Ford read a paper on his experiences in the public archives of Europe.

Mr. Tuttle, in behalf of Mr. Norcross, communicated copies of six letters from his collection of autographs, as follow:

William Cowper to Joseph Hill

Dear Sephus, — I return you my thanks for the 10£ note which came yesterday safe to hand. I am willing to think upon recollecting the extraordinary expences of the last year, that I shall not find my Income so deficient hereafter. My necessary charges upon leaving St. Albans, such as Fees to Servants, Journey hither, etc, my very expensive Housekeeping at the first Lodging I went to, where it cost me in four months almost as much as it does here in a twelvemonth, and my remittance to Dr. Cotton, amount in the whole to

the best part, if not the whole of £100 and readily enough account for the defects that so much alarmed me. My personal expenses at this House hardly ever come to more than a guinea a month, including washing so that the Taylor, the Drapier, the servants wages, and the little Boys Board, are the only material articles of expense I am exposed to after payment of Mr. ? and for these I think the remaining 80£ must be, nay half of it must be sufficient.

The people of this House have contracted such a Friendship for me, and behave to me with so much affection and Tenderness, that it would cut me to the Heart to be obliged to leave them. If that however should be the case, which I don't much apprehend, I will retire far North or far West, into a country where I may be sure not to exceed my Income, for if I can't live here the South will always be too hot to hold me. Besides it is so painfull a thing to me, to be forced to break connections as fast as I make them that as far as I can, I will endeavour with submission to Providence, to secure myself from any future sorrows of that kind.

In the meantime I hope better things, and am easy Yrs my dear Joe

Wm. Cowper.

Pray inform Lady Hesketh [1] that my Servant having travelled as far as High gate in his way to London, with the Book she was so kind as to lend me, stopt there without reaching town, and brought it back again. She may depend however on its being safely restored to her

Augt. 23, 1766.

[Addressed:] To Mr Joseph Hill at Taplow Common near Maidenhead, Bucks.

Walter Scott to A. Roland [2]

My dear Sir: — Your letter of the 6th I have just received. As I intend visiting Edinburgh next week I shall call on you and explain matters more fully. I cannot see how any truth can be taken out of the statements made by Mr. Barr's client [3] and I am not aware of any writings having passed betwixt him and I. He was just instructed as an ordinary workman and he had no instructions

[1] Harriet, Lady Hesketh (1733–1807), cousin of the poet, was the daughter of Ashley Cowper (1701–1788) and Dorothy Oakes. She married Thomas Hesketh of Rufford, Lancashire.

[2] The address of the letter says A. Roland, M.P., but no one of that name is in the lists of the Parliaments of Scotland or of Great Britain and the United Kingdom.

[3] Indicated in an endorsement as " E. Mc."

from me on any subject whatsoever, he having been employed as a Sub-contractor. He has had several conversations with me but they have always been of a trifling character and did not in any way refer to his worth here or elsewhere. Some of those who had instructions from the architects may have given cause for him to imagine his present position, but as it is unfounded and does not affect me in any way. I can only refer you to my agent for further answer to your letter. Yours very truly

WALTER SCOTT.

ABBOTSFORD, 16 Jany 1816.

WALTER SCOTT TO ——

MY DEAR SIR, — I have just had a call from Mr. Cochrane on behalf of the bearer of this letter, Mr. James Morris who is anxious to obtain a situation in your office and for which I understand he has made a personal application. He is anxious to get into a Writers office here and commence an apprenticeship under Indenture. As his father was my old friend I am anxious to befriend his son as far as possible. Mr. Morris has had a good education having been educated at the High School here and Edinburg University and has I believe attended some additional classes at Aberdeen.

If you could see your way to take another apprentice into your office I hope you will favor his application Yours sincerely

WALTER SCOTT.

EDINBURGH, 14 July, 1818.

WALTER SCOTT TO WILLIAM LAIDLAW

DEAR WILLIE, — I have little to say or rather am too much fatigued to say anything. You do not say how my remittance has met exigencies and you know I hate accumulations of claims.

You are quite right in your opinion of Saunders. He never showed himself a more blue blooded gentleman. The extreme tact and taste of all ranks has surprized the King and all about him.[4] No rushing or roaring, but a devoted attachment expressed by a sort of dignified reverance which seemed divided betwixt a high veneration for their sovereign and a suitable regard for themselves. I have seen in my day many a Levee and drawing room but never one so

[4] George IV visited Scotland in August, 1822, and the leading incidents are given in Lockhart, *Scott* (2nd ed.), VII. 46.

august and free from absurdity and ridicule as these of Holy Rood. The apartments also, desolate and stripd as they have been, are worth a hundred of Carleton or Buckingham House, but the singular and native good breeding of hundreds who never saw a court is the most remarkable of all, if it were not that the populace without doors show the same feeling of propriety with the gentle within. The people that our carriages passed amongst today were all full of feeling and to them very remarkable instead of huzzaing they showed the singular compliment of lifting their children to see them. The most affecting thing you ever witnessed. When Saunders goes wrong it must be from malice prepense, for no one knows so well how to do right.

Mama Sophia and Anne were dreadfully frightened and I of course (though an old courtier in such a court as Holy Rood) a good deal uneasy. The King however spoke to them and they were all kissed in due form, though they protest they are still at a loss how the ceremony was performed. The King leaves on Wednesday to my great joy, for strong emotions cannot last. He has lived entirely within door and seen no one but those of his suite. Tomorrow I suppose there is a dinner party at Dalkirk, as I am commanded there, but it is the first.

I have had from fever, exertion and distress of mind a strange cutaneous eruption on my legs and arms — you would think I had adopted the national musical instrument to regale His Majesty; but seriously I believe I should have been ill but for the relief Nature has been pleased to afford me in this ungainly way; luckily my hands and face are clear.

I think of running up to Liverpool for a day to see Canning before he leaves our shores, if he soon shall leave them.[5] Yours truly

WALTER SCOTT.

Tuesday [August, 1822]

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER TO GEORGE H. PREBLE

OTSEGO HALL, COOPERSTOWN,
Jan. 27th, 1843.

DEAR SIR, — Your valuable letter reached me last evening. Information of precisely this nature was just what I wanted. Any more of it, particularly such as relates to the commodore's service in the revolution, will be very acceptable. I should also like the address of his son to whom I would apply for a sight of his father's papers, dates of commission, etc.

[5] See Scott's letter to his son Walter, in *Ib.*, 74.

It is not my intention to put the biography of com. Preble in to Graham's, it will be reserved for the large work, in common with most of these which have a freshness and importance. I have many anecdotes that will probably be as new to the family as to the public; my material being the most meager in connection with the early life of my subject.

You would confer a favor by inducing any officer who may have materials to write me, in reference to any officer who is dead. My plan will embrace notices of most of those who have had any standing in the service, including in a few instances, midshipmen. One of the latter, a Mr. Sigourney [6] who was killed in Chesapeake Bay last war, was a Bostonian, and I should like extremely to get his parentage, date of birth, and any facts that may be known to his family, connected with his death.

Begging to thank you for what has already reached me, I remain, Dear Sir, very sincerely yours

J. Fenimore Cooper.

Robert Browning to Ticknor and Fields

London, 19 *Warwick Crescent,*
Upper Westbourne Terrace W.
July 19, 67.

Gentlemen, — I beg to thank you for the two letters which contained your handsome acceptance of my proposal, and directions as to the way of forwarding the sheets. I shall do my best to satisfy you, depend upon it, and will manage all about the packets, duplicates, etc., scrupulously. But the people, with a right to advise me in this matter — in which they will be quite as interested as your selves — demur to my sending anything *seven* weeks before publication; they insist on my avoiding all possibility of even extracts getting here before their own proceedings; especially they want to announce the name of the poem themselves. I must beg for your indulgence and sympathy in these matters, and that you will believe my honest determination is to make you as secure as you would wish.

Meantime I give you what particulars I can, for your guidance. The poem is *new* in subject, treatment and form. It is in Twelve Parts, averaging, say, 1600 lines each. The whole somewhat exceeding 20,000. (It is the shortest poem, for the stuff in it, I ever

[6] James Butler Sigourney (d. 1813). See *Genealogy of the Sigourney Family,* 13.

wrote.) This will be printed here in two volumes of six parts each.[7] The name is that of the collection of law-papers on which; or out of which, rather, the poem is developed. I hope to be able to begin to print in October. I go in a week to a quiet place for two months, where I shall finally dispose of at least three quarters of this thing. Should you want to communicate with me, write to me " Au Croisic, Loire Inférieure, France," where I am to be found from August to the end of September.

I hope I do not dissatisfy you in any respect, and, repeating my own satisfaction at your kindness, am, gentlemen, Very faithfully yours

ROBERT BROWNING.

PETITION OF MARSHFIELD REFUGEES, 1776

In an earlier volume of *Proceedings* (2d Series, II. 234) is printed " A List of the Refugees from the County of Plymouth," from the papers of Edward Winslow. The names of seventy-three from Marshfield are given and there were noted the existence of fifty-eight other refugees from that town but names are not given. Of the signers to the petition now printed all are found in the List except Nathaniel Garnet.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, SAFETY ETC. FOR THE TOWN OF MARSHFIELD. GENTLEMEN.

The Petition of us the Inhabitants of said Town humbly sheweth: That your Petitioners on or about the Twentieth of Apreil A: D 1775 did Leave said town of marshfield and repair to the Town of *Boston* wich Conduct of theirs has justly given Great offence to their Townsmen and the Country in generall. Your Petitioners would therefore beg leave to say in Extenuation of their fault that at the time of their Embarkation for the port of *Boston* the Country in generall and more Especially the Town of marshfield was in great tumult and perplexity: wich greatly Intimidated and affrighted your petitioners: and they Left the said Town in the greatest anxiety and Distress of mind that Can be Expressed, Not having Time maturely to weigh the unhappy Consequences that would attend so rash and Inconsiderate a procedure. But Hoping and Expecting that things in a short Time would subside: they fully Intended to have

[7] *The Ring and the Book.*

returned to their Families and Friends again: but after Their arrivall there they found It was Impracticable: although they made Repeated Application for their return and your Petitioners Did Embrace the first opportunity to Return home Being fully determined Not to Sell their Country And wich permission they with Difficulty Obtained through the mediation of friends: your petitioners further beg leave to say that they can sincerely and Truly affirm and declare that they never Repaired to the Town of *Boston* with a design to aid assist abett advise or Joyn the *ministerial* Army: Aand are Heartily Sorry that their Imprudant Conduckt has giving so much offence. And would have you Consider that It is humane to Err and put the most favourable Construction on their Conduct and that it was an Error In Judgment and Not in principle for wich Error they are heartily Sorry And beg the forgiveness of the Country in generall and more Especially of their Townsmen. Your petitioners would further say that as far as they know their own hearts they are sincere friends and well wishers to the good of their Country and would do any thing within the Compass of their Sphere to promote and Support the prosperity and welfare of the Same at the hazard of Every thing dear to them and whereas Some of your Petitioners un[a]dvisedly without due Consideration and through inadvertency Did Sign an address to Generall Gage but without any Ill design to their Country. they humbly ask your forgiveness for that misconduct and hope and trust their future behaviour will Evidance the Sincerity of this their Confession. Your petitioners therefore humbly Beg you will take this petition into your Candid and Compassionate Consideration and Afford them your Assistance in a petition to the Great and Generall Court of this Colony for their Enlargement wich petition they propose to send In a Suitable time after Said Court shall Sitt your petitioners Determine in said petition to give Ample Security for their future good Conduct and Behaviour. And as Deacon Thomas has the Honour to be Chosen to Represent the town of Marshfield for the Ensuing year we would in a particuler maner supplicate his good offices and Interest In our behalf: Gentlemen, you are sensible that Now is the prime of the year and that most of us have Large families to support and that if we are debarred from Improveing our Time for that purpose they as well as ourselves must Become a burthen and Charge to the Community and our Innocent wives and Children be Involved in the Same Calamity with us. We must beg Leve to Say that in our Humble Opinions it would Redound more to the good of the Whole that ten or twenty men should Be Employed in Som honest Calling whareby the publick or their Families may be Bene-

fitted then that they Should Be Confind In a Goal, wharefore Considering you will take A Compassionate Regard to this petition we Beg Leve to Subscribe ourselves your Humble Servents

* Cornelius White	* Nath. his × mark Garnet
* Ephraim Littel	Stephen Tilden
John Tilden	Joseph Tilden
* John Baker	* Warren White
Elisha Foord	

Plymouth may the 20th 1776

And Sylvanus White Joyns in this petition and would Beg leve further To observe that at the time of thiar Leving the Town of Marshfield his farther was under great Indisposition of Body and thought it Not prudant to Leve hom without Some parson to take partickluor Care of him wich was Another great Inducement to your petitioner for his Leveing the place. Sylvanus White

those with this mark * Did Not Sign the address to General Gage.

John Grow to Captain Clay [1]

Capt. Clay, Chairman of County Committee: Sir, — I Received yours of the 29th Instant, and don't thank you for giveing me my Liberty to Return to Chester on Bonds to Appear Again at a Future time, you must know Sir that this is so far from being a Favour that it is nothing but a Piece of Savage Cruelty. you must know Sir that my life will not be safe a moment there. this has been the Case for more than 14 months last past: and my Neighbours well know that fourteen Nights next before I was sent here I watched without a Minute's sleep, Expecting every moment to be assassinated. Is it a favour for me to Return home and be murdered? You know Sir that fourteen months last past I have besieged the County Committees and Congresses for protection from the hands of Murderers who have twice attempted to put their bloody Designs in Execution.

I know it has been said by my Murdering Adversaries that I am a Tory, but is it not Astonishing that I have for fourteen Months last past besieged the County Committees and County Congresses for Tryal and can Obtain none. how often have I told the County

[1] This is a draft or copy of the letter and is on the back of a brief note from Elizabeth Nichols, of Shirley, to her son, Nicholas Scot, at Fitchburg, dated August 24, 1776. Grow was probably a New Yorker.

Committee, etc. that the bottom of Hell must be Raked to find any such Evidence against me; is it not astonishing that when I am now Imprisoned by the Very Men who have before (as I have proved to the County Committee) Unprovoked and in Cold Blood attempted to murder me, by the Very men who this County Committee at their Last Meeting here Resolved should not on any account presume to Try me, I Further say is it not Astonishing that my Repeated applications for Tryal whether my Imprisonment is Just or not should be Rejected. This Sir does not give me so much Uneasiness on my own Account as on Account of others who have been Treated in the same Barbarous Manner: Who I have taken the greatest pains to keep from despair but fear I shall be able to Support their hopes of Relief no Longer. and should they from those principals of Self defence which are Inherent in Every man fall upon Desperate methods to gain Relief or protection, I *wash my hands in Innocence;* they as well as I have often Looked to the place of Justice for Relief but *behold Inniquity is there,* the Ears of the Committee were Closely stop'd against the Crys of the Innocent oppressed. if anything Dreadful shall happen in Consequence of their Self Defence I trust a Righteous God will Lay the Inniquity on those whose unjust denial to protect Innocence has made such Extraordinary Methods for them to Take Necessary.

As for my own part I will not yet Dispair but will Immediately Lay my hard Case before the General Assembly of this State together with Evidence of my former and present Abuses, my Former Applications to the Committee with the Success, with Exact Copys of my Letters to you since my Imprisonment with your answers both Written and Verbal. and as a Tryal here ever has been and now is denyed me shall pray one before them. from Sir your Much Injured friend and Hble. Servt.

JOHN GROW.

COUNTY GOAL August 31st 1776

P.S. My Application to the Assembly at New York will be made unnecessary if you Notifie me that a Tryal shall be Immediately granted me here, and give me that Notice by 9 oClock in the forenoon of Monday next.

Sent per Saml. Minot Jun.

CARE OF POWDER, 1774.

1774. The Province of the Massachusetts Bay to James Read.

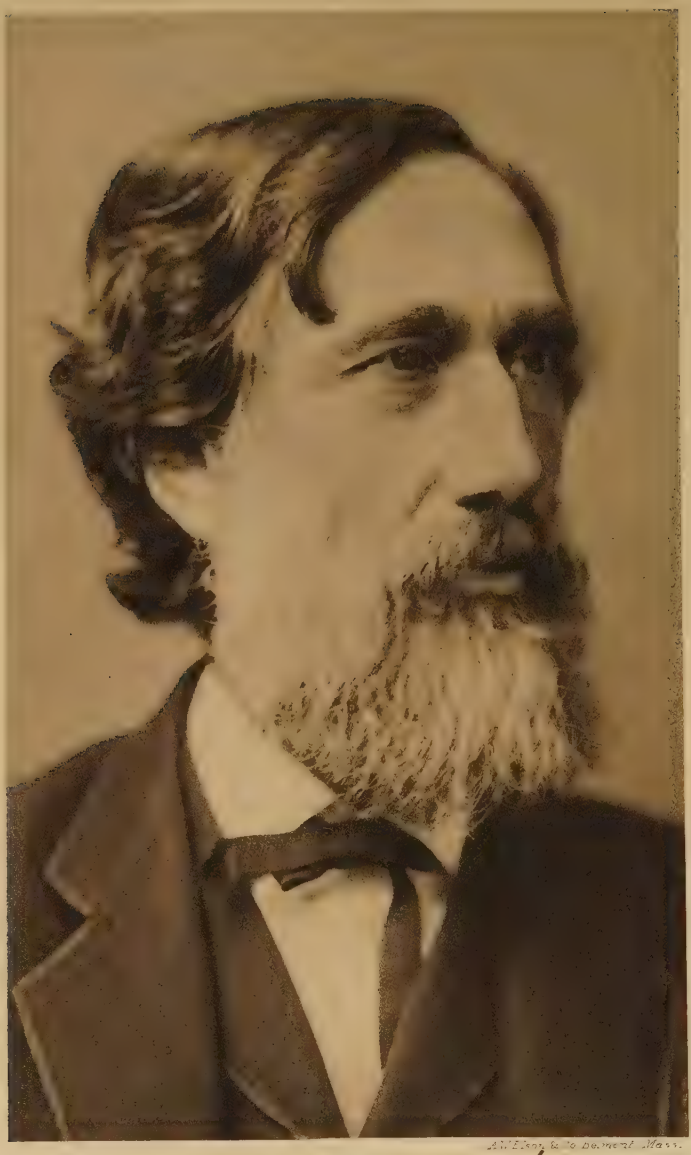
June.	for Three men Sunning the Powder at the Powder House in Charlestown, Six Days at Five Shillings a Day a peice.....	£4. 10*s.* 0*d.*
	For Turning the Powder once Every Month, and Airing the Powder House once Every Fortnight, and Takeing Care of the Powder House from March the Sixteenth 1773, to March the Sixteenth 1774, a year	6 12 9
		£11 2 9

Errors Excepted Per me JAMES READ.

Endorsed: June 6th, 1774. I do hereby certify that the within account is just, reasonable and the charges according to custom.

W. BRATTLE.

INSTITUTE OF MUSEUM AND LIBRARY SERVICES



Wm. W Capron

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM WALLACE CRAPO

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM WALLACE CRAPO

By PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM

In the year 1680, or thereabouts — the exact date remains unknown — a French vessel was wrecked off the southern shores of Cape Cod. Neither her name nor destination has been recorded. It is probable that she was a total loss. Among the bits of wreckage washed ashore, however, was a tiny lad, who was rescued and taken home by kind-hearted Cape Cod people, who brought him up under the name of Pierre Crapaud. Pierre perhaps was his actual christian name — all that the urchin knew of it, or could express; while Crapaud was probably added in deference to his nationality. But in any event the name was inconvenient, and when the youth arrived at manhood it was changed to Peter Crapo. He took to farming, and most of his numerous descendants continue to this day to live in the southern part of Massachusetts.

William Wallace Crapo was therefore of French, and not Anglo-Saxon origin, although no man ever much more successfully concealed his Latin origin. He was born on May 16, 1830, the only son, and the youngest of the ten children of Henry Howland and Mary Ann (Slocum) Crapo. His actual birth-place was at his grandfather Slocum's farm at Barney's Joy in the town of Dartmouth. When he was two years old his parents moved to New Bedford, a few miles distant, which from that time on, until his death in 1926 at the ripe age of ninety-six, remained his home. At the age of four the boy was sent to the Dame School which was conducted by Miss Anna Bailey, which he left in due season for the public gram-

mar school. By the time he was eleven we find him entering the local high school from which he graduated at the early age of fifteen. The choice was then given him of learning a trade by becoming a cooper's apprentice, or of going on with his education, and he wisely chose the latter course, although his father informed him that a business career would yield him larger financial rewards. In the pursuit of learning he directed his steps to the Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass. Two years later, in 1841, one of the sub-masters at Andover, and a favorite teacher with young Crapo, Abner J. Phipps, was chosen Principal of the Friends' Academy in New Bedford. The youth clung to the teacher, went back to his home town, graduated from the Friends' Academy in 1848, and from there entered Yale College, receiving his A. B. degree four years later with the class of 1852. The college course stimulated, if it did not awaken, an interest in literary matters. The undergraduate became Editor of the *Yale Lit*, was chosen class poet, having in the meantime been elected a member of the Alpha Sigma Phi, and of the famous Skull and Bones Society. Scholarly ambition now had him firmly by the hand. He had decided on the profession of the Law, and from Yale he went on to the Harvard Law School, which he left after one year without taking a degree, to continue his study in the office of John H. Clifford. Mr. Clifford was not only a leading member of the Bar in New Bedford, but a leading citizen of Massachusetts, having served with distinction both as Attorney General and as Governor of the State.

In such an office, as well as by reason of native tastes and ability, it was natural that the young lawyer should find the profession he had chosen an open gateway into public office. He was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar in 1855, and that same year saw him elected City Solicitor of New Bedford, an office which he held for a dozen years. His father had been Treasurer and Clerk of the town, so that by inheritance as well as training he appeared destined for some form of public service. The step from city to state affairs was natural, if not indeed inevitable. It is significant that as a young man he embraced the principles of the Republican Party, which was just struggling into life and influence. He took active part in the Frémont Campaign of 1856, making speeches in various

parts of New England, and in 1857 he was elected to the Massachusetts General Court. A single term contented him, however, and he was unwilling to stand as a candidate for the State Senate.

From that time on, for a period of nearly twenty years, William Crapo held no public office. He was busily engaged in the practice of the Law, serving his native city in several minor capacities, conducting himself as the good citizen generally, and acting in conjunction with his father who had in the meantime moved out to Michigan where he became active in the lumber business, attained financial prominence, and was elected governor of the state. Governor Crapo of Michigan was one of the War Governors during the Civil War, and the son made several visits to Washington, representing his father. In this way he came into touch with President Lincoln, and with members of his Cabinet, afterwards becoming a personal friend of Ulysses Grant. This friendship was to stand him in good stead when he became in due season, and with persistent advocacy, the avowed and vigorous champion of a cause that was to assume an international significance.

New Bedford in those days was a shipping community. She specialized in oil, and her whale ships sailed the Seven Seas. It was natural, therefore, that her merchants suffered severely during the Civil War from the depredations of the famous Rebel cruisers built in England. The *Alabama* and *Shenandoah* caused heavy damage. There was consternation on Water Street in New Bedford. Ruin stared many merchants in the face. In due season — the war being over — Mr. Crapo took the matter in hand. He had specialized in Admiralty Law. He prepared the first Memorial to the United States Government asking that the country demand reparation from Great Britain. The Memorial was despatched to Washington and the Secretary of State was complimentary in acknowledging its receipt, but did not think there was any chance that Congress would act in the matter, or that England would ever acknowledge the justice of the claims. But the young New Bedford attorney was in earnest, and declined to be discouraged. He associated with himself a young man named Beaman who was the son of a Martha's Vineyard minister. Charles C. Beaman was a graduate of Harvard and had made

an academic study of the case. To him was left the literary side of the campaign, and he got the matter before the public mind by means of magazine articles and other propaganda processes. Crapo in the meantime secured the support of New Bedford merchants who agreed that he should receive ten per cent of whatever claims might be recovered. But there were many obstacles to be overcome. Members of Congress were slow in being aroused. The South quite naturally was not interested. Her cruisers had been the ones to do the damage. Congressmen from the West were almost as indifferent. None of their constituents had suffered any loss. Only on the Eastern Seaboard was there any interest. But Mr. Crapo would not let the matter drop. His friendship with General Grant, who was then in the White House, gave an entering wedge. He called constantly on the President, and finally in his message to Congress, December 5, 1871, General Grant urged that action should be taken. A touch of the Executive whip proved all that was necessary. Congress asked that a Joint High Commission should be constituted by the two governments. The case was referred to arbitration and the famous Geneva award spelled victory for the United States.

The way in which one step leads to another in life is always interesting. It was largely in order that he might urge upon Congress the justice and importance of these claims that Mr. Crapo entered national politics. Just when he was making an up-hill fight on the *Alabama* claims business, a Congressional vacancy occurred in the Bristol County District, caused by the death of James Buffington, who had been serving in the National House for several years. Mr. Crapo decided to become a candidate. He was elected and took his seat in the 44th Congress, which was the first Democratic House after the war. He entered eagerly upon the work, other matters besides the *Alabama* claims appealing to him. He served as a member of the Congressional Committee appointed to investigate the return of Louisiana in the Hayes-Tilden election contest, and thus contributed to the seating of Mr. Hayes in the White House. In the 45th Congress he was given a place on the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and in the 46th he served as a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency. This was a committtee of great importance just then because of the

agitation for the extension of the charters of national banks. In the 47th Congress he became Chairman of this Committee, and was father of the important bill to extend the charters of the banks; and he steered the bill successfully through the House in the face of serious opposition.

Mr. Crapo's service in Washington extended over seven years. He was a member of four Congresses, and he might have continued still longer to represent the 13th Massachusetts District had it not been for the fact that he now became suggested as the Republican candidate for Governor of the State. This proved the turning-point of his career. Rival interests entered the field, and a conflict was precipitated, which proved disastrous in more respects than one.

Mr. Crapo never enjoyed a contest, and he was little interested in the scramble for office. Moreover, he definitely disapproved of large expenditures of money in connection with political campaigns; besides which, it was brought up against him that he had voted in Congress for the River and Harbor Bill which President Arthur had vetoed. The consequence was that he failed of nomination, and Robert R. Bishop, of Newton, was put at the head of the ticket. Mr. Bishop was an inconspicuous and comparatively unknown man, and he went down in defeat at the polls before the redoubtable Benjamin F. Butler. Had Mr. Crapo been nominated, and elected — as probably he would have been — he would perhaps have gone on into the United States Senate, and we should have had the advantage of his counsel for many years in State and National affairs. It was a great pity that such a man was diverted from active political life. Honest, high minded, able, public spirited, with sound judgment, he was eminently well fitted to serve his country in high positions. He had spoken at the Republican State Convention in 1881, of "Public Office as a Public Trust," and it has been claimed by some of his admirers that he was the author of that famous phrase. Probably he was not. But whether he originated it or not, he *held to it*, which is a matter of more importance, and it was typical of his whole career.

But the setback of 1882 was serious. He never recovered from it politically. For obvious reasons he would have liked to become Governor of Massachusetts, as his father had been

Governor of Michigan. But it was not to be; and he was never again a candidate for public office. Not that he withdrew either from public life, or public notice. Such was not the case. His ability and character had both been proved. He served as a member of the Republican National Committee in 1884. President Cleveland offered in 1887 to appoint him a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission; but he could not see his way clear to accept the post. A little later on he was again suggested for Governor, and was prominently mentioned for United States Senator. In 1897 he was appointed by Governor Wolcott on a Commission to Revise Street Railway Regulations, a position where he served with Charles Francis Adams. In 1904 he was a Presidential Elector-at-large for Massachusetts. During all this time he was becoming more and more absorbed in financial enterprises and industrial undertakings. His father had been President of the Flint and Pere Marquette Railway and the son succeeded him. When the whaling industry fell away and New Bedford took up the manufacture of cotton goods, Mr. Crapo was active in bringing about the change. He was President for many years of the Wamsutta Mills, of the Potomska, the Acushnet and the Hathaway Mills; in addition to which he was President of the New Bedford Institution of Savings, and a Vice-President of the International Trust Company of Boston. Nothing important was undertaken in his native city for a full period of fifty years, whether it concerned politics, business, social reform, or philanthropy, without first considering, or consulting Mr. Crapo, and securing, if possible, his coöperation and assistance. He was easily the first citizen of that interesting city at the time of his death, and the distinction had been silently accorded him for many years. In spite of business cares he never ceased to keep a lively interest in literary and historical matters. All events connected with the early days of New Bedford, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard and Cape Cod made a strong appeal to him, and more especially as they related to the romance and the deep adventures that gathered round the old whaling days. To signalize this interest, and in order that later generations might be reminded of the courage and hardihood of the crews and captains of the whalers, he gave the city a unique monument in bronze which was the work

of Bela Pratt. It stands in a conspicuous position between the City Hall and the Public Library. It is known as "The Whaleman," and represents a young Hercules, bare to the waist, standing in the bow of an open boat, with a harpoon poised in his uplifted hand, ready to fling the deadly dart. It bears the motto, — "A dead whale, or a stove boat," which was the cry of the whalemen as they rowed out to challenge the monsters of the deep in mortal fray, in which many a young life was lost.

Long before this statue was given to his native city, Mr. Crapo had established for himself a monumental reputation for utter integrity and long public service. Yale recognized a worthy son and gave him a degree of LL. D. in 1882; a distinction that Williams College likewise bestowed in 1911. Mr. Crapo died February 28, 1926.

My own experience with Mr. Crapo began in 1889, when I became settled over the First Congregational Society in New Bedford. He was a man of 60 at that time, though he looked considerably older, and I, a youth of 25. He was the leading member of the Church, always in his pew on Sundays, when he was in the city. He could not always have been sympathetic with some of the doctrines preached by the young graduate from Harvard; but he never complained. I would not say that he "received with meekness the engrafted word"; but he accepted it with silence. He was a very patient man; simple in his tastes, never giving any evidence whatever that he felt the importance of his position. Plutarch tells us that one of the mottoes written over the temple at Delphi was, "Nothing too much." Mr. Crapo lived in accordance with that principle and he never forgot it — except when it came to work. He was moderate in all things, and he went by the apostolic caution, "Let your moderation be known unto all men." He was not a man of many words, but his words were well chosen. He was thoughtful, rather than brilliant; sound and not spectacular. His conscience made him conservative; his integrity caused him to become a tower of strength to others. He had convictions, and he lived by them. His heart was large; but he did not wear it on his sleeve. He was an institution in the city of New Bedford, and for many years he was looked upon and generally recognized

as the "great man" of the place. His position in the city never can be taken; and his name will long be honored and remembered.

Mr. Crapo married, in New Bedford, January 22, 1857, Sarah A. Davis Tappan, born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, October 6, 1831, died in New Bedford, December 13, 1898, daughter of George and Serena (Davis) Tappan, her father a merchant of Newburyport. Mr. and Mrs. Crapo were the parents of two sons: Henry Howland Crapo, born in New Bedford, January 31, 1862, a graduate of Harvard, 1883; and Stanford Tappan Crapo, born in New Bedford, June 13, 1865, a graduate of Yale, 1887.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 9, 1926, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Marian C. Jackson, two letters from John Adams to Jonathan Jackson, of Newburyport, Nov. 8, and 17, 1782.

From Dr. Tracy Jackson, correspondence of Dr. James Jackson, 1831 to 1852.

From the New England Historic Genealogical Society, a supplement to the *Boston Gazette* of June 13, 1765.

From Joseph Grafton Minot, photostat copies of the deed and inventory of the mansion house and property of Aaron Burr at Richmond Hill, New York, sold by him to Sir John Temple, June 17, 1797, from the originals in the New York Historical Society.

By deposit, from Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck, letters and garden books of Henry Lee, Senior, 1813 to 1860, and letters of Mary Lee, 1844 to 1859.

From the Thursday Evening Club, the deposit of its records and papers, 1846–1922.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From John Galway, photographs of the first electric fire alarm apparatus, invented by Dr. William F. Channing, in the old building of Police Station, No. 2, Court Square, April 28, 1852, and of a fire alarm box, 1852, corner of Broad and Central Streets, Boston.

From Dr. Edward R. Williams, an engraving of Thomas Franklin Edmands, 1906.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a photogravure of Hannah Adams, several photographs, engravings and a Verdun Medal.

It was voted that Chapter XIII, as it now stands, be struck from the By-Laws and the following be substituted:

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE PUBLICATIONS

ART. 1. — At the regular meeting of the Society in May a Committee of Publication shall be appointed by the President with the approval of the Council which shall supervise all publications of the Society. It shall recommend to the Council from time to time what publications other than the Proceedings should be undertaken by the Society; but no such publication shall be proceeded with unless the Council has authorized it and provided for the necessary expenditure.

The Committee of Publication shall consist of five members of the Society, of which number the Editor of the Society's publications, if a member of the Society, shall be one.

Reports in the public press, as well as the Proceedings of the Society, shall be under the supervision of the Committee of Publication, subject to the following rules:

First, Neither the remarks nor the name of any member shall be introduced into any report without his permission.

Second, All papers read or remarks made by any member, which such member shall desire or be willing to have printed, shall be submitted to the above-named Committee for the purpose, and shall be subject to their discretion: provided, however, that any member may publish, on his own responsibility, any paper or remarks of his own which the Committee may not think suitable to include in their report; but in such case, the Society shall not be mentioned in any way whatever in connection with such publication.

ART. 2. — There shall be inserted in each volume published from the income of any fund, a statement in print that it was made at the charge of that fund.

ART. 3. — The Council may appoint a member of the Society, or other competent person, who shall be immediately responsible for the proper editing of all volumes, whether of Collections, Proceedings, or other publications, the supervision of the Society's copyists, and the adequate preparation of all material intended for the press. If the person so appointed be a Resident Member of the Society, he shall be *ex-officio* a member of the Council, and a member of the Committee of Publication as above provided; but the authority of any Editor shall be subordinate to that of said committee. The Editor shall receive such salary as may be fixed by the Council.

John Woodbury, A.B., of Canton and Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The President announced the death in Boston, on November 27, of Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, D.D., and called on Rev. Dr. PARK, who read the following tribute:

In the death of Paul Revere Frothingham our community has sustained a loss that can ill be afforded, a loss that not only falls with heavy weight at the moment, but one whose weight is destined to grow heavier as time passes. He was of that class of men who are remembered and admired after death as well as during life, and whose place in the esteem of society grows more secure with the years. The quietness of his nature acted as a disguise which concealed from the casual observer the real quality and enduring substance of his service. His spirit was of high specific gravity, which meant that the bulk of his interests and labors was below the surface of things, in the quieter depths of the great stream of life. He was no mere "mush of concession," no player to the gallery, but a man of strong and noble character, conscientious and self-exacting, singularly free from Sir Henry Wotton's "hopes to rise and fears to fall;" the kind of man who may be depended upon to champion causes that are true and important, quite regardless of whether or not they happen to be popular and fashionable. The accidents of birth and ancestry had endowed him with all the advantages a man could wish in the way of social position and background. The bluest blood of New England flowed through his veins. That sense of security was to him an unconscious source of freedom — freedom to be honest in his convictions, vigorous in his allegiances, and refreshingly outspoken in his advocacy of that which seemed to him good and worthy.

Added to this advantage of birth there was a native independence of spirit in him which could brook no restraint. Which side of his bread bore the butter, whether or not it was buttered at all, were considerations that never disturbed his motives. He was a self-integrated man, quiet but very warmhearted, reserved but not afraid to be conspicuous, self poised and self reliant, as likely to disagree as to agree, and with a great scorn for all fads and shams and affectations and ex-

tremes of sentiment and emotion. These are just the qualities that make occasional enemies during life, but that win universal admiration in the retrospect. Mr. Frothingham was indifferent to both. His one great concern was to be loyal to his own vision of the truth.

In his profession of the ministry he was actuated by a genuine old-fashioned "call," a call that had come to him as it would come to such a man, not in a sudden impulse or fancy, and not under the influence of temporary circumstances, but as the result of deliberate and sustained thought, a determination premeditated and deliberately reached. From first to last he was a minister by choice. His self-consecration was solidly based upon the deepest and most enduring foundation possible. All through his life he was a steadying influence among his fellow ministers. By the sincerity of his own devotion, the soundness of his judgment, and something that one is tempted to describe as his spiritual good taste, he dignified his profession.

His mind was of a thoroughly practical cast. His thought was the sublimation of common sense. His strongest appeal was to the common sense of his hearers. The ecstatic vision of the mystic, the unsubstantial raptures of the visionary and the saint were commodities in which he seldom if ever trafficked. He was content to leave such adventures into the realms of spiritual exploration to those whose natures were better equipped for that kind of thing. His concern was to translate the results of their discovery into terms of practical motive and duty. His soul was no stranger to poetry, but it was poetry of an intelligible sort; peace on earth, good will among men, human brotherhood and justice and coöperation, a Kingdom of Heaven on earth, here and now, a human society founded on friendliness and helpfulness and trust, instead of selfishness and competition and suspicion. One of the great sorrows of his life was that we were not in the League of Nations, and one of the avowed objectives which he acknowledged, especially since his visit to Geneva a few years ago, was to say and do all in his power to open our eyes here in America to the value of the League, to its success, and to the enhanced stability and efficacy America might give it by her entrance into it.

His method of presenting his ideas was as thoroughly marked by common sense as were the ideas themselves. He knew human nature, knew how it would react to the manner and the spirit of any advocate. He realized that passion engenders passion, that extravagance provokes its counterpoise of caution. There was neither passion nor extravagance in his method, save of course the unconcealable passion of intense conviction. He was persuasive, logical, forceful in his very restraint, appealing to the sane good sense of people. His effectiveness as a preacher was enhanced by an impressive presence and a voice of exceptional beauty and flexibility. No human interest was foreign to his sympathy. He gave generously of his time and strength to many causes and ameliorating enterprises. The working man found in him a staunch friend and helper. Little children, young men in college, the aged and infirm who had fallen upon evil times, were the objects of his tender and practical solicitude.

He did not wear his heart on his sleeve. It was no desire of his to be a popular idol. He sought no bubble reputation. His circle of friends, while not small, was not as large by any means as it might have been were he a different man in that prominent station. But it made up ten times over in quality what it lacked in extent. When you knew him, you loved him, and when you loved him you loved him with all your might, with a trusting, admiring, satisfying life-long love which you were perfectly sure was returned to you in good measure, pressed down and running over.

General SCHAFF expressed his sense of personal loss and of the loss to the Society through the death of Dr. Frothingham.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN read a paper on

MASSACHUSETTS ORATORY

In reading the able and interesting *Life of Edward Everett* by our late beloved member Dr. Frothingham, two questions came to my mind as they may have to the minds of others: first, whether since Webster and Everett we have had any oratory which at all compared with that of those two distin-

guished men; and second, whether their oratory would make the same impression upon the audiences of today that it did in their time. It occurred to me that in the course of a long life I had heard every one of our eminent orators during the past seventy-five years except Webster — some of them many times, so that I could give personal impressions of all of them; and that as regards Webster I had been so familiar with his important addresses since boyhood that I could state something of the impression made at the time of their delivery. In that exciting political period Webster was constantly under discussion and as nearly all of my family and friends were his ardent admirers I could hardly avoid a pretty intimate knowledge of his speeches and also of the man himself. I have turned to the printed addresses of Webster and Everett and read over with some care the most important ones, such as the Plymouth oration and the noted public addresses. I was prepared to find their style somewhat antiquated, a little ponderous and stilted and highly rhetorical. Rather to my surprise they made no such impression and I found in them great similarity to modern style and as interesting reading as any more recent addresses. They were somewhat more rhetorical than we are accustomed to — especially Everett's; but the felicitous language and beauty of the rhetorical flights largely dissipated any feeling I might have had that they were too ornate for the taste of today.

Webster was a little before my time, but I well remember when a boy of fourteen driving from Plymouth to Kingston with a friend to see him upon the occasion of his last public reception on his way to his Marshfield home.

He was then somewhat broken in health from the result of a carriage accident, but I have never forgotten the impression made upon me, young as I was, by his grand and imposing presence. He seemed a large man although in fact he was not over five feet ten inches in height, but he was so heavily built that his magnificent head and deep-set cavernous eyes and his distinguished carriage combined to give one the idea of great size. He made no speech at the reception and his only response to the hearty greeting was by bowing and raising his hat. The incident may have been strengthened in my mind by his death not long after this, and by my remembrance of the solemnity

of his funeral, and the fact that in Plymouth, where I then resided, it seemed as though every male inhabitant in the town had gone to Marshfield for the funeral; so much so that a dangerous fire which threatened the whole town was checked with the greatest difficulty, owing to the absence of men to handle the fire engines and apparatus. Such personal adoration as was held of Webster by his admirers has seldom been witnessed in this country and his death created a profound feeling not only here but in foreign parts as well.

His oration in Plymouth, Forefathers' Day, 1820, was probably his most eloquent and the best-known speech of his career, although not his greatest in depth of thought and in effect upon the history of his country. No one today can read over its thrilling passages without deep emotion and admiration for their boldness and eloquence, such for instance as the well-known apostrophe to the coming generations:

> Advance, then, ye further generations! We would hail you, as you rise in your long succession, to fill the places which we now fill, and to taste the blessings of existence where we are passing, and soon shall have passed, our own human duration. We bid you welcome to this pleasant land of the fathers. We bid you welcome to the healthful skies and the verdant fields of New England. We greet your accession to the great inheritance which we have enjoyed. We welcome you to the blessings of good government and religious liberty. We welcome you to the treasures of science and the delights of learning. We welcome you to the transcendent sweets of domestic life, to the happiness of kindred, and parents, and children. We welcome you to the immeasurable blessings of rational existence, the immortal hope of Christianity, and the light of everlasting truth! [1]

Fine as this is, to repeat it now without the magnificent delivery of Webster, is to make it sound a little turgid and overdrawn, but that is far from the impression the voice of Webster made upon his enthusiastic audience.

Or read over the familiar peroration of his great speech in Congress in 1830 on Senator Foot's Resolution: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dis-

[1] *Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (National edition), I. 225.

honored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood." [2]

Or turn to an example of a different nature, emotional but of most telling effect — the close of his argument in the famous Dartmouth College case — when he paused a moment and then turning to the Chief Justice and the Bench, overpowered apparently by his own deep feelings, he appealed to their favorable judgment:

This, sir, is my case! It is the case, not merely of that humble institution, it is the case of every college in our land. . . . Sir, you may destroy this little institution; it is weak; it is in your hands. I know it is one of the lesser lights in the literary horizon of our country. You may put it out. But if you do so, you must carry through your work! You must extinguish, one after another, all those great lights of science which, for more than a century, have thrown their radiance over our land! It is, sir, as I have said, a small college. And yet *there are those who love it* — [*After a pause.*] Sir, I know not how others may feel, but, for myself, when I see my Alma Mater surrounded, like Caesar in the senate-house, by those who are reiterating stab after stab, I would not, for this right hand, have her turn to me, and say, *Et tu quoque, mi fili!* And thou too, my son! [3]

I recall these passages not at all to illustrate Webster's general style but to give some idea of his remarkable dramatic power. It has been said, and with truth, that a great orator must be a great actor. While it was true enough of Webster, he had also to a wonderful degree that other important faculty, the power of concealing the art by his presence and delivery.

I want, too, to call your attention to the striking similarity in general principle between the much-criticized views of Webster in the 7th of March Speech and the views of Lincoln as expressed in his letter to Horace Greeley in 1862 wherein he wrote:

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without free-

[2] *Ib.*, VI. 75. [3] *Ib.*, XV. 12.

ing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.[4]

It is not easy to read this and at the same time condemn Webster's speech, for the letter and the speech are both based upon the same idea, of saving the Union.

Nor do I think that Lincoln substantially changed his mind when, a short time after this letter, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. As he said himself, that great document was issued upon the theory that it was distinctly a war measure to save the Union.

A distinguished professor once said to me that he doubted whether the North would have been united to carry the war through, had it not been for Webster's great Union speeches which fired its heart and built up such an intense Union feeling. Be that as it may, I am convinced that Webster was sincere and honest in his speech and the view of later times seems to be in harmony with that opinion. I am further reinforced in my view by a letter of Webster's in my possession dated March 1, 1850, and written to Charles Henry Warren of Boston. After stating that a speech from Calhoun would be heard on Monday and Seward would speak on Tuesday, and paying a touching tribute to Calhoun, referring to his long personal intimacy and expressing his regret at his physical infirmity, he goes on:

I shall get the floor, if I can, on Wednesday, but fear it will be later. You may wish to know the substance of what I propose to say; but, as my budget will soon be out, I think I shall give you no abstract of contents in advance. I mean to make an honest, truth-telling speech, and a Union speech; but I have no hope of acquitting myself with more than tolerable ability. But we shall soon know, and I neither

[4] *Complete Works of Lincoln*, II. 227.

despond nor enjoy a premature exultation at success. Whether the speech be good or bad, nobody will care a fig about it a month hence, if anything occurs, in the meantime, to give quiet to the country.[5]

This letter of course was private, without any expectation of its ever being published, and goes very far to show Webster's sincere conviction and that he was moved by no ulterior motive or personal ambition.

In the light of what followed in this country between that time and 1865 we can realize now the danger to the Union then existing and how passionately Webster strove to avert the danger.

It is a difficult thing to give a clear impression of Webster's style, the style was so much the man himself, with his majestic presence and impassioned delivery, combined with the force of that massive intellect unequalled by that of any public man in this country, unless Hamilton. He was not the accomplished scholar that Everett was, but he was clear cut and logical and a profound thinker. He had made a deep study of the science of the law and of government; he was thoroughly versed in political history, and his wide experience of men and affairs had given him the power of playing with facile eloquence upon the emotions and instincts of his hearers.

In addition to this he had a profound love of nature; he was proud of his great farm in New Hampshire with its fine herd of cattle; he loved his beautiful place at Marshfield and the sounding sea which washed its shores; and from them all his grand nature absorbed something of the crisp air of the mountains and the bracing atmosphere of the broad ocean.

I have another letter of Webster's, written in sportive vein, not dated but delivered in Plymouth, Mass., September 19, 1852, and probably written the day before — believed to be the last letter he wrote. It is short and so interesting that I may quote it as follows:

Roger Eastman was a soldier bold, a Welshman by descent. He belonged to Salisbury in the County of Essex. He married Gerusha Fitz, a Welsh woman also, of whose kindred I saw hundreds in North Wales, twelve years ago. Handsome, dark beautiful eyes, inimitable teeth and hair as black as a coal. These worthy persons were my

[5] The full letter is in Curtis, *Life of Webster,* II. 626; and in *Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster,* XVI. 534.

maternal Grandfather and Grandmother. The Major was a head or house carpenter. I have seen his foreplane and smoothing plane, long jointer and short jointer and rabbit. But though not bred to arms, having a noble and lofty soul and being withall a tall fellow of his hands, he was pitched upon as an available person to help to defend the Colonies in the old wars and to conquer the French. In this service the Major lost a leg. Soon after my mother's marriage he and his wife went to live with my father in Salisbury, N. H. (now vulgarized into Franklin), and there they both died. The Veteran betook himself to planting trees, for fruit, on the very first acres recovered from the forest, and among others planted a pear tree, about 1770, which is now in full bearing and I send you a specimen of its product this year. It stands in the garden belonging to the house in which I was born and close by Punch Brook.

But you have never seen Salisbury, nor the sources of the Merrimack, nor Kearsarge, nor the Ragged Mountains, nor my Punch Brook pasture of 500 acres, where 100 cattle graze along the glades and glide through the bushes like so many deer. My — I do not think you ever saw anything.

Senator Lodge, in his *Daniel Webster*, appraises him as the equal as an orator of the famous orators of antiquity or of the noted English orators such as Burke, or Chatham, or Fox, and I think history has confirmed that judgment.

Thomas Jefferson described John Adams as " the Colossus of the Revolution "; with equal truth it may be said that Daniel Webster was the Colossus of American orators.

Contemporaneous with Webster, though younger in years, was Edward Everett, himself a consummate orator, a thorough classical scholar, a man of rare eloquence, with a charming voice and a delivery the embodiment of graceful action. I heard him a good many times and specially in his well-known address upon George Washington. I suppose that address and the equally noted one at Plymouth upon Forefathers' Day, 1823, were the most remarkable of his addresses, the most eloquent and, perhaps, the most full of deep thought and of his brilliant rhetorical flights. Possibly they were too remote from the more practical and realistic form of address to which we are more accustomed, but their beauty of expression and impressive delivery subordinated any feeling at the moment of their being at times a trifle stilted. Everett had a remarkable

career and his broad experience gave a wide range to his oratory. He was a clergyman at the Brattle Street Church in Boston, then President of Harvard College, a member of Congress and United States Senator from Massachusetts, a most popular minister to England, Secretary of State at Washington and Governor of Massachusetts. He filled all these positions with dignity and conspicuous ability and some of his State papers were regarded as of high importance and were of uncommon power. In every position he attracted by his eloquence and was always listened to with delight. Critics pronounced him cold and artificial and as lacking deep conviction. While this was in a measure true and his failure to meet with complete success was probably owing in some degree to the absence of strong positive views and to a somewhat timorous and compromising nature, I question whether such thoughts affected at the time those who listened to his eloquence and were entranced by the beauty of his diction and the charm of his voice, however much they may have realized the truth of the criticism upon later reflection. I had the good fortune to hear one of the most remarkable addresses I think he ever delivered and one that I have rarely seen in print.[6] It was a eulogy he gave at Faneuil Hall soon after the death of Rufus Choate. He had been very intimate with Choate, was very fond of him and they were sympathetic in their love of books and classical studies. The hall was draped in mourning, crowded to its capacity, and as Everett stepped forward the audience began to applaud until stilled by his graceful way of calling their attention to the fact that this was no occasion for applause. But as he went on to describe Choate's great learning and ability and his wonderful command of language and wound up with a glowing period picturing Choate's vivid style and the manner in which he marshalled his sentences with their dazzling metaphors until he brought them forth in one grand burst of eloquence — the audience could not restrain their enthusiasm and broke out into a roar of applause. Whatever may be said of his coldness or want of impassioned delivery, this was Everett at his best when every word came from the heart.

Living at the same time as Webster it is inevitable to com-

[6] Everett's *Orations and Speeches*, IV. 178.

pare the oratory of the two men, but it is an unfair comparison, for Webster occupied a place all his own. Everett had great gifts and I think has been unequalled since in real eloquence, in charm of voice and manner, in the felicity with which he used the English language and in rhetorical power. His name will ever, I believe, stand high upon the roll of American orators.

Of the same period was Wendell Phillips, a man of pleasing but not imposing presence, scholarly, with an attractive voice and style and of great eloquence. He held intense convictions upon the slavery question and devoted most of his life to the advocacy of them, but they were extreme views, urged with much bitterness and with an entire absence of perspective. This naturally restricted his field and prevented the use of his undoubted talent in a broader sphere. His style was quiet and almost conversational, until roused by opposition or flaming indignation, but then the gleaming steel would show under the velvet glove and he would become violently personal, and denunciatory, and bitter in caustic sarcasm. It is a question how far he benefited his own cause by his strong antipathies and unreasoning attacks. Even with Lincoln, when weighed down by burdens and perplexed with difficulties, he had no patience and attacked him with harsh and unjust severity. His sway over his audiences was remarkable and his eloquent words and delivery striking, but they failed to convince from their extreme nature. After the practical settlement of the slavery question he devoted himself to social and industrial problems, but upon those, as upon the slavery question, he displayed the same radicalism which minimized his influence and gave him the reputation of a theorist rather than that of a practical man.

His rank as a polished speaker will always be high, but his sphere was altogether too narrow to class him among the great orators of his time.

Rufus Choate was a different man in every way from Phillips. He was a striking figure, eloquent and forcible and unique in his style. In his command of language he was unsurpassed. No one but Everett could describe his style so as to convey a real impression of the man to those who had not seen or heard him. Brilliant he certainly was, forcible and full

of action and utterly unlike any of his contemporaries, either at the bar or upon the platform. As a lawyer he was of the highest order and before a jury, with his emotional and impassioned oratory, he was almost invincible. In public life like many other great lawyers he cannot be considered a success, but he always captivated and at the same time amazed his hearers.

I heard him once or twice in Court, in rather unimportant cases, but more often upon the platform; yet I always had the feeling that, notwithstanding his brilliancy, his learning and his great power, he was not exactly *en rapport* with his hearers. Whether this was owing to his legalistic manner, or because with his torrent of words he swept his audience to such dizzy heights where they could admire but not follow him, I cannot say, but he seemed to fail in making the impression so great a speaker might have expected. Like Phillips and others of a later date, his reputation as an orator seems to have been too local and too temporary to place him among the truly great.

Two other very important speakers remain to be considered and I take them up together, because they were political and personal antagonists; yet much as they differed otherwise they seemed to have some traits in common. I refer to Senator Charles Sumner and Robert C. Winthrop. Around them for some years raged a bitter political contest in Massachusetts which left its traces in their lives and upon the community for a long time.

They were both imposing looking men, scholarly and with rich deep tones of voice, and both were somewhat cold and stately in manner, lacking in sympathetic and magnetic qualities. Sumner's life was almost wholly a political one and he attained great prominence, exerting a powerful influence in the controversy over slavery. His speeches were forcible and at times eloquent, but he was so given to personalities and vituperative attacks that much of his influence was lost. He was domineering and assertive and a difficult man to coöperate with in his own political party. He was constantly at odds with President Lincoln and later with President Grant, and went so far as to refuse to support the former for a second term. His field of oratory was a narrow one and I do not think he could be classed among the great orators of the period. In

this view I am confirmed by his biographer, Moorfield Storey, who, from his personal relations with Sumner, was certainly not an unfriendly critic. He writes:

> He [Sumner] was a man of great ability but not of the highest intellectual power, nor was he a master of style. He was not incisive in thought or speech. His orations were overloaded, his rhetoric was often turgid, he was easily led into irrelevance and undue stress upon undisputed points. His untiring industry as a reader had filled his memory with associations which perhaps he valued unduly. Originally modest and not self-confident, the result of his long contest was to make him egotistical and dogmatic.

This in brief tells the story of Sumner as an orator and leaves a definite impression of his limitations, as well as of his learning and ability.

It is difficult in this presence, where so many knew Robert C. Winthrop personally and as president of this Society, to discuss frankly Mr. Winthrop's oratory. We all know his fine presence, his grace and dignity in presiding, and his felicity in the use of the English language. He was a profound student, possessed a rich and facile voice, and was an eloquent speaker. In his public life in Congress and as a Speaker of the House, he had earned a wide and enviable reputation and on very many public occasions he had displayed unusual oratorical powers. It was his misfortune that his public views were not in harmony with those of the community in which he lived, and that in some degree impaired his influence while it did not obscure his great ability and the power of his words. I heard perhaps his most able and forceful address at Plymouth upon the 250th Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims and was much impressed with its beauty, its classical learning, and its great eloquence, and it was all the more effective in that it was a tribute to the Pilgrims from a most prominent member of the Church from which the Pilgrims had parted. These Forefathers' addresses in Plymouth are remarkable specimens of American oratory and, gathered together in one volume, would be the best examples of American oratory anywhere to be found. They seem almost like trial tests of the best orators in this section of the country. I am unable to say that Winthrop's oration had altogether a sympathetic response from his

audience, for with all the great qualities he exhibited it was too unimpassioned and too formal and stately to appeal deeply to their feelings; but it certainly gave to his hearers the impression of unusual oratorical power, of deep learning, and of a highly trained and effective manner of delivery. I have always thought that Winthrop combined more natural gifts of oratory than any speaker since Everett and that he narrowly missed the fame of a truly great orator.

Of orators more nearly of our own time I do not care to speak critically. I heard Senators Hoar and Lodge in their fine orations at Plymouth on the 275th and 300th Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims, and they were both scholarly and able addresses, and displayed a good deal of power and great oratorical ability; but whether they definitely placed the speakers in the list of great orators, or whether their addresses elsewhere did, may better be left for future writers to determine; though I question whether either can be considered in the first rank as orators.

I might well allude to the oratory of a number of great preachers whom I have heard, such as Starr King, Phillips Brooks, Dr. Edwards A. Park of Andover, Dr. James Walker of Harvard College and others; but great as their work was and great as was the influence of their teaching, they seem to me to have labored in a different sphere and in a special field and hardly to come within the purview of my subject.

I must however before closing diverge a little from my immediate subject and speak of an undoubted orator of his kind who differed in every essential respect from what we have regarded as the highest oratory, and that exception is William Jennings Bryan. He was not, of course, from Massachusetts, although he often spoke here; but disagree with him as we may he commands consideration for his breezy Western style and for his real merit as a natural orator who swayed by his words and his manner vast bodies of people. He was not a scholar, he was not a man of deep thought and the argument of his most noted speeches seems superficial and unsound; but the point is that he was most effective and wielded vast influence. In his earlier days he was of impressive appearance and with an attractive voice; he was a forcible orator and spoke with appeal-

ing power and at times with much eloquence. He possessed, moreover, what most of our orators have lacked, a keen sense of humor which added to his vivid personality.

I remember hearing him at the City Club in Boston some years since in a speech not distinctively political. It is probable that a small portion of the audience were in harmony with his views, but it was interesting to see how he captured and held his hearers and even excited them to enthusiastic applause. He was witty, brilliant at times, and winning in his pleasant humor, and the humor often had a telling point. He began in a quiet way by saying; "When I first began to run for the Presidency," and immediately put the audience on pleasant terms with him, and throughout his speech it was easy to understand the fascination he undoubtedly exerted over audiences more or less in sympathy with him.

For students of oratory he presents unusual conditions and, like Lincoln, he furnishes the example of most impressive and successful oratory, without the education and training that we are accustomed to associate with it.

I have freely stated the impression the various speakers referred to made upon me at the time, and, as far as I could judge, upon many others. I am aware that there is opportunity for great difference of opinion as to the comparative merits of the men; yet I may claim the advantage possessed now by few others, of having heard them all, except Webster. The result in my own mind is two-fold. First, that I can find no comparison between the oratory of Webster and Everett and that of their successors; and second, as practically all audiences are moved quite as much by emotion as by calm judgment, I conclude that given the fine presence, the voice, the manner and the style of those great men, audiences now would forget that they were accustomed to a different kind of oratory and would be just as much moved and roused as they were in the olden times. That, of course, is entirely a matter of judgment, and if any one should undertake to pursue the subject further it would be of extreme interest; but as the matter stands it seems clear to me that what has been wanting in later years has not so much been orators as genuine *oratory,* with its accompaniment of scholarship and thorough training, or, in their place,

a certain natural gift vouchsafed to few men, but occasionally appearing not only in high places but in more humble walks of life.

Professor ALBERT BUSHNELL HART spoke on

WASHINGTON TO ORDER

" Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time! " That was Mr. Warren's subject; it is also my subject, which simply indicates the fact that the world is more interested than it used to be in the men of the Revolutionary period, and particularly in George Washington. The result of that interest has been an unusual attention in the press, and particularly a stream of books bearing upon the great character. This " re-Washington " spirit is partly due to the approaching two hundredth anniversary of his birth. Likewise it is connected with the development of a new school of history which thinks to rewrite the transactions of the past; and some history needs rewriting in view of the better facilities now possessed by scholars of the Revolutionary period.

To attempt a survey of the recent literature upon George Washington would be impossible without recalling to your minds that at this table sits the most conspicuous living scholar in the life and the works of George Washington; whose effort has perhaps done more than that of any living individual to make possible a just estimate of George Washington as a man. Beside the name of Worthington C. Ford in the galaxy of Washington scholars must always be associated that of his brother, Paul Leicester Ford, the author of one of the most entertaining and useful books that has ever been written about Washington.

In the last few months have eventuated three volumes upon Washington from men of widely varying vision and training. The first of these wrote the presentation copy in my hand, a gift to this Society: It is Charles Moore's *The Family Life of George Washington*. That is not likely ever to be superseded, because no one will have better facilities than Moore. He has the advantage of agreeable social relations with the present

generation of the descendants of Washington's friends and confrères. He has also the opportunity, as the head of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, to be familiar with the great collections of Washington letters in Washington and elsewhere.

Furthermore, he has well accomplished the task he set out to do, namely to trace the family relations of Washington. He does not in detail go very far back; he practically starts with the original settlers, the first Washingtons to come to America. Then he follows down as far as there are representatives of the indirect Washington line that can trace back to him or his brothers and sisters. The book is admirable in concept and execution. It is the work of a scholar and a man of honor, who has saturated himself with the spirit of Virginia. He gives you a better idea than you can get anywhere else of Washington's social entourage, the kind of people among whom he lived.

The second of the new books is by W. E. Woodward, with whose previous experience in historical work the world seems little acquainted. The title, *George Washington; the Image and the Man,* reveals the author's quaint conception that he is the first writer on Washington to seek and find the real human George Washington. The book is quite elaborate: he attempts to cover the life of Washington throughout. The main trouble with the biography is that the author accepts as a duty to posterity to reveal not only that Washington has been panegyrized by his other biographers, but that he was not even the man that he was thought to be in his own generation. Nevertheless the book is interesting; and as I go on I shall try to make clear such points of excellence as seem noteworthy.

The third of the new books is *George Washington; the Human Being and the Hero* by Rupert Hughes. This is not the first essay of Rupert Hughes in literature: the habit of the lurid fiction writer was difficult to straighten. Perhaps it would not be unreasonable to say that, taken as a whole, this is the most successful work of fiction which has proceeded from the author's pen. I have the most direct authority for the scholarship of the work, viz. the author's assurance that this book is already in its third edition.

Like Woodward, Hughes proceeds in general on the theory

that there is more to be told about Washington than previous writers have covered. He goes further by revealing a constant prepossession, not only that a new Washington has been discovered by his researches, but that he was a cheap Washington, a two-faced Washington, an inefficient Washington, a disappointed Washington, an untrustworthy Washington.

That this picture of Washington is contrary to the traditions of his time, to nearly all contemporary estimates, to most of the later historians and biographers, troubles Rupert Hughes not a whit. He seems to believe that he has been first to approach certain copious materials; and that his acute mind is able to make true deductions when others have been too unprepared or too weak to discover the truth.

In truth it is not chance, or accident of evidence, or the too favorable views of historians that make Washington a national asset. His reputation begins with the fact that he was physically the fittest man of his time. It was Jefferson, as you know, who said that he was the best horseman and the finest figure on a horse that was ever seen. Such talk about his "always drinking and never drunk" is chaff in the wind as against the traditional and established conceptions of him as a handsome, well-governed, and stately man, who early showed those characteristics which made him later a leader of his country. No person familiar with those times can deny that in the Revolutionary War Washington was the main dependence; without him the war could not have succeeded; and in that struggle he showed the amazing qualities of mind and character and steadfastness, and the military judgment and experience which did the job. So in the field of statesmanship, we look upon him as the most important statesman of the early United States, the first of a long line of presidents. Those traditions embody the real characteristics of Washington, and can no more be upset than can the world's belief in the military capacity of Napoleon or the political leadership of William Pitt or the scientific genius of Newton.

It is undeniable that Washington's reputation has been rather unfavorably affected by early biographers. Marshall was a close personal friend. Washington Irving was named for him. Jared Sparks smoothed down and varnished Washington's letters. They all meant well, and planed down some

of the most interesting traits in their subject. The really harmful book was that of Weems, who wrote the book that has been read, probably, by more Americans than any book ever printed, except the Bible. It is still published; it is still read; it still suffocates the youthful mind. For its preposterous and ridiculous statements have established an idea of infant precocity and adult rectitude to which no man could live up. Weems was an artist who was able to paint a smile on the countenance of a William the Silent, to frame a cheap, self-conscious demagogue out of Washington. All those men set out with the idea that the only thing that was important about Washington was his greatness and his great deeds and successes. The living, vital, everyday Washington, who wore false teeth and changed his clothes and dandled his little kinsmen on his knee and laughed with his associates and sunk money on lottery tickets, is unknown to wily Weems. Paul Leicester Ford's *The True George Washington,* Haworth's *Washington a Farmer,* and Hulbert's *Washington and the West,* have dared to make Washington a man of flesh and blood and not of putty and grape juice.

Within a few days I have had in my hand a very ingenious manuscript, shortly to be published, based upon Washington's will. The author, Prussing, takes one after another of its provisions, follows them out to show how that particular property arose; and carries them on to the final adjustment of the bequests forty-seven years after Washington's death. That and somewhat similar books will for the first time bring to the front the business habits of George Washington.

Turn back and find what other authors have done for Washington in the main field of the three new books mentioned above. What are the materials from which the new works are gathered? In general they are the familiar sources, plus a liberal allowance of data drawn from secondary books, letters, diaries, and reminiscences of others. The best materials are, of course, what Washington wrote himself. Fitzpatrick's edition of the *Diaries* is a boon to all scholars; but the *Diaries* are really only daybooks, meagre statements of occurrences. They do not contain what George Washington was thinking about.

Of late years a school has arisen which ascribes to other men

the most important things that appeared from the pen of Washington, at least after he became president. According to this idea, his secretaries wrote his military dispatches; Alexander Hamilton wrote his messages — especially his Farewell Address; and so on. That makes Alexander Hamilton's work double, because the things indubitably written by him over his own name are enough to make him famous. Some of Washington's military dispatches were written by aides, on memoranda furnished by their General; but, at that time and throughout his life, his vital letters and dispatches were the product of his own brain. No doubt Hamilton and others did collaborate in the Farewell Address, and in other ways, very much as members of the Cabinet do nowadays.

For myself, what I know about Washington is what I have gathered from reading what he said himself, explained in the light of the times and of the circumstances and difficulties with which he contended. To this day, and for all the future, Washington's works are the most important sources for determining not only what he said, but what he was. That is why I could not forbear just now voicing the opinion of this Society upon the services of one of our members in making Washington's works more valuable, by producing an authentic edition and expanding the knowledge of those inestimable materials.

At the end of Woodward's book he expresses the insane belief that there are thousands of letters of Washington that have never been published, which he seems to think would be racy reading. Greater authorities than I, intimately acquainted with the Washington materials, scoff at the suggestion. We now possess most of the material that can be dealt with, whether by old-fashioned panegyrists, or by the recent critical biographers, or by these new lights, flickering, untrained and irresponsible.

Charles Moore's book is founded on documents and also on the reminiscences and records of Virginia families. Hence he makes you see Virginia while you are reading: he depicts Washington in the background of his own kindred and his own associates.

Woodward's materials are summed up at the end of his volume — a long and respectable list of authorities; Hughes also makes a great parade of his material. It appears — again

I speak by authority — that Hughes is perfectly certain that his deductions are all correct, because he has collected a considerable library of material upon American and Colonial history. Evidently he has not read them all, nor used those read to advantage; nor has he used some earlier books that are valuable upon his subject. His volume is characterized by a turgid style into which moral reflections are introduced. It is journalese throughout. It is really a headlined book, only the headlines are not printed. Likewise he puts red pepper into the words that appear in type. Otherwise how would people realize that they are receiving a new treatment of Washington, hot from the griddle. Hence the sensational chapter titles — "The Mystery of Sally Fairfax" — "Chaos and Terror" — "He Rides North to a New Love" — "Scandal, Abuse, Mutiny, Litigation, Despair" — "Centinel No. X Calls His Troops Dastardly Debauchees" — "He Drains the Dregs of Humiliation" — "He Loses Another Sweetheart" — "He Wins a Rich Widow" — "Sally Fairfax Again."

Both Hughes and Woodward are anxious to make clear that they are founding a new school of prophets, inasmuch as they felt that Washington had been obscured by his admirers and by inferior writers, say, such as Washington Irving and Henry Cabot Lodge. Both the new authors feel that it is incumbent upon them "to call Washington down." These mock luminaries are trying to establish a new Washington religion, the concept of an unhappy, weak, blundering, overrated Washington. The proof of this criticism can be illustrated by a few of many extracts from Rupert Hughes.

> He was almost insane with impatience, for he had sent out his friends Chew and Allen, two officers of the First Virginia, to reconnoitre, . . . (p. 389)
>
> In the meanwhile, this chagrin, added to his other chagrins, all but broke his spirit. He had been defeated in everything he had undertaken. Probably nobody ever lived who accumulated more defeats than Washington. Yet he was never really defeated. (p. 337)
>
> But the pitiful victim of defeat upon defeat, disgrace, abuse, frustration, blazing with fever and sick with dysentery, cowered alone at Mount Vernon and reviewed a life of miseries almost unbroken. (p. 348)

So many and such intolerable humiliations were heaped upon Washington that he began to reveal what was later to be called an "inferiority complex" — the sort of reaction to life that makes a shy man boastful, keeps a modest man harping on his own virtues. (p. 339)

It had taken the abuse to bring forward the praise. He needed it. It restored him to reason and patriotism, . . . (p. 318)

They had the poor man so put upon, so denied his liberty, that he was all but insane with frustration, helplessness and disgrace. (p. 329)

Spanked once more, Washington wrote plaintively to John Robinson, . . . (p. 341)

There are thousands of his letters that have not been published. Judging from the unscrupulous editing and selection of so many of those that have been printed, there are dazzling revelations awaiting their study by a human being. (p. 476)

To understand George Washington at all, first we must understand the community in which he lived. It is extraordinary how both Woodward and Hughes have succeeded in misinterpreting Colonial Virginia, simply because they do not know it. They think they know it; they think they are for the first time revealing its weaknesses.

I have a statistical turn of mind, and in going over these two books I liberally illustrated them by marginal notes. From those data are made up little tables as follows: In Woodward's book I find at least seventy-one sharp criticisms of Washington, that is seventy-one distinctly derogatory passages. I will not discuss at the moment how far they are justified. In Hughes' book a similar classification shows two hundred and eighty-seven sharply critical passages (of which I have copies here); two hundred and eighty-seven allegations derogatory to George Washington. So far as my knowledge goes, I freely affirm that at least two hundred of those passages are not based upon historical data, but upon what the author supposes that George Washington actually did under the circumstances, although we have no record thereof; perhaps, in many cases, upon what Rupert Hughes would have done and thought if he had been George Washington.

In addition I have noted in Hughes' book one hundred and eleven passages which, to my inferior knowledge, do not seem

substantiated by historical evidence, either in Hughes' book or elsewhere. Very likely I am the ignorant one. He may have chapter and verse for some of the things which seem to me extraordinary. Therefore, I will positively affirm only that there are at least one hundred and eleven suspicions of inaccuracy.

So in Woodward; here is his insight into a lofty character:

> His spiritual life was dim. He thought in material terms. The inner significance of people and events was beyond his range. (p. 455)
>
> By the end of 1795 Washington was near the end of his second term, and his administration was on the rocks. It had lost prestige everywhere and the country was waiting for it to end, as one might wait for a person to die. (p. 450)
>
> In the chair of authority sits the impressive Washington . . . grey inside, but majestic outside. Boredom flickers in his eyes; he is grave, serious and bored. But he has the consciousness of doing his duty, the spiritual uplift of meeting expectations. (p. 418)
>
> He seems to have been principally a figure-head, a symbol. He was almost as impersonal at the top of the government as a statue on top of a monument would have been. We see his hand in appointments to office, in routine affairs, in a vast correspondence. (p. 447)

To understand a Titan one must understand the base on which he stands; then in order to understand Washington, we must know something about Virginia. How far does either Woodward or Hughes realize Colonial Virginia? They may have been on the ground, but they certainly fail to understand a civilization derived from England, and much more closely approximating the English mode of living than that in the Northern colonies. Woodward has done good service in pointing out the weakness of the civil and military of Virginia when applied to the frontier. Neither of them seems really aware of the social organization and standards of behavior of eighteenth-century Virginia.

Both the authors are natives of the West; and here was an opportunity for a new view of Washington. So far as I know, Hulbert's is the first book that sets out to develop the fact that George Washington, born into and of an aristocratic circle in Virginia, living in the highest state of refinement and luxury

which was then known in the colonies, was a pioneer in spirit. His first great experience of life was going far out on the French frontier, where no other man from Virginia had ever ventured. He penetrated to the Ohio country, not once or twice, but several times, and brought back a rich experience from the frontier.

Partly because of the labors of scholars such as Turner and Schlesinger in the last three decades, we are beginning to understand that the history of the West is a part of the warp and woof of the history of the nation. The first real western statesman was George Washington. He was the first Colonial from the sea coast to envisage the far West; the first man to realize how much that vast region meant; and the first American to come back from the West with the determination that it should be English and not French.

Who can tell the influence throughout his life, particularly throughout his administration as President, of that early contact with the West. He learned the stuff of frontiersmen, the frontiersmen of Virginia, later the frontiersmen of Pennsylvania, and the frontiersmen of Ohio. What a hold that gave him upon the situation! He was just as much a western man and a pioneer as Daniel Boone or John Sevier or Manasseh Cutler. He deserves to be considered the first statesman to realize the natural boundaries of the United States of America.

Nevertheless from these biographers it would appear that Washington had a bad start; that he showed inferior traits from the beginning. Woodward, it is true, is not precisely contemptuous in his references to Washington; but he believes that Washington was dull and that it took him a very long time to get anything through his head. Hughes has more decided views in regard to Washington's early character. Let me read a few extracts which, if allowed to stand unquestioned, will vitiate the school textbooks of the twentieth century.

> He consorted with English lords, rode to hounds, learned to love foppery and all the elegancies, became a past master of dancing, of gambling, polite drinking and exquisite flirtation.
>
> In the presence of women he would often lose his simple forthright manner and turn himself into a pompous and mouthy sentimentalist — or else remain spellbound and silent.

Perhaps he would have been realized as the romantic, amorous, love- and laughter-loving, fickle, restless adventurer that he was until national tragedies solemnized him and scared him into a self-protective pomposity.

Edward, then a little over twenty-one, at once came courting Mary Cary, and in the face of such competition, Washington was an illiterate boor.

There are literally hundreds of criticisms of that kind, not derived from sources or other writers or from the painful knowledge of the writer himself, but from his internal consciousness.

Go a little further. It is apparently the belief of Hughes; if you can speak of a " belief " in the wholly nebulous, that he can make you believe that Washington was ordinarily almost insane with impatience and spite and disappointment. For example: " His other chagrins, all but broke his spirit. He had been defeated in everything he had undertaken. Probably nobody ever lived who accumulated more defeats than Washington."

It takes more than a Hughes to make us believe that Washington in his own view was a failure. Again, both of these writers consider it an indelicacy, to say the least, on Washington's part that he liked to hold land, that he obtained thousands of acres and that he acquired it wherever he could find it. They accuse him of deliberately deceiving his fellow soldiers by acquiring their rights in the West (and there is no doubt he did buy up other people's rights). They berate him as a land grabber and a land jumper.

Nowadays it is hard to realize that in Colonial times land was the only thing (except shipping) into which you could put a little money with a hope of taking out a great profit. The purchase of wild lands and holding them until buying settlers came along, was the one possibility of making a great fortune. We forget also that such a chance also involved the possibility of making a great misfortune — as anyone knows who remembers the experience of Robert Morris. Washington was the first man in Virginia to see what thousands of men in New England have seen in the last fifty years; namely, that if you own western land, and can simply hold on to it until it is sale-

able, you will make a fortune out of it. That would seem to be the head and front of Washington's iniquities in this respect.

We come finally, after dealing with the various unfortunate details in Washington's character discovered by the new historical psychiatrists, to the Sally Fairfax episode. The truth is that Rupert Hughes has trained a set of imaginary performing ladies whom he describes in skilled journalese. His point of view somehow reminds me of the old gentleman who attended a lecture on Ancient Rome, in which the lecturer sought to bring out the fact that there must have been some good fathers in Rome, and excellent mothers, dutiful children, and pure family life. Whereupon the hearer rose to leave the room, but turned back to say: "Sir, I protest at this barefaced attempt to deprive us of the vices of the ancient Romans." Woodward, too, in his book has gone on the theory that the previous writers upon George Washington have been depriving us of the vices of the Virginia Colonists.

To the Sally Fairfax episode of a few months Hughes gives one-seventeenth of all the space in his book. The writer has recently seen one of the incriminating documents in the Library of Congress — a letter from Sally Fairfax to George Washington commanding his presence at her home and threatening otherwise to use her own legs to search him out, signed unblushingly by Sally Fairfax — also by two of her girl friends!

Why is Sally Fairfax under any suspicion? Her girl relations with Washington extended only over a few years, during a period when Washington had some other matters upon his mind. He first knew Sally Fairfax about 1750, at 18 years old, and he was married in 1758 to Mrs. Custis. It is the deliberate opinion of Hughes that the Fairfax episode is the great event and influence of Washington's early manhood. Here is the chance not to "deprive us of the vices of the ancient Romans." The Fairfax episode as described by Hughes is interwoven with his text. He devotes pages to it. He comes back to it time and again with the flamboyant chapter titles quoted above.

Why this vast discussion? A careful calculation of the ladies who in the view of Mr. Hughes were honored by George Washington's affections, begins at the time he was sixteen years of age. According to Mr. Hughes the known flames of

Washington were the following (all of whom appear to be lifted from Paul Leicester Ford): "The big girl he romped with in school"; Jane Strothers; Betsy Fauntleroy; Mary Bland; Lucy Graves; "Lowland Beauty"; "Frances Alexandra"; Mary Cary; Mary Philipse; Sally Fairfax; and Martha Custis. That is eleven. Out of those eleven it is known that he did propose to Betsy Fauntleroy; that he was fond of Sally Fairfax; and he did marry Martha Custis, leaving the balance of the eight flames unconsumed.

All three of the new writers deal with this affair, but how differently! Moore, who knows the Virginian character better than the other two, sums it up as follows:

> Attempts, based largely on this letter and another written to Mrs. Fairfax when she was old, friendless, and alone at Bath, England, have been made to prove that she was 'the object of George Washington's early and passionate love.' His obligations to her were great. She was the merriest, brightest, most sophisticated woman of his acquaintance. She rallied him on his seriousness, teased him about his affairs, played with his professions of interest, threw about their occasional letters a tantalizing air of mystery, and so for ten years contributed to his education. If she ever sacrificed either time or affection for his sake, that fact has not appeared.
>
> Undoubtedly the training he received at her hands made him particular and discriminating in the choice of a wife. She, on her part, never swerved from her straight wifely path. There was never any diminution in the intercourse between the Fairfax and Washington families, save such as separation and death created. (p. 54)

Indeed the only written evidence is four or five letters of which only one is susceptible of a damaging construction. Woodward, though ready enough to find Washington in trouble, devotes only five references to the subject, leading to the conclusion that the available evidence proves nothing except that Washington was in love with Mrs. Fairfax, but would not say so; and he attributes to him no base conduct.

The Sally Fairfax episode is, however, the warp and woof of the Hughes volume. He rolls Sally Fairfax like a sweet morsel under his tongue. His idea of an impartial historian is to follow the methods of the tabloid newspapers — to feature anything that can be twisted into the guise of sexual irregularity,

especially concerning those in high places. Having set out to prove that George Washington's relations with Sally Fairfax were lax if not unlawful, the whole book is clustered around it and his love affairs. In one hundred and sixty-five paragraphs in Rupert Hughes' book he alludes to Sally Fairfax.

Hughes' treatment of the lady and the swain is repellent because the effort, as any one who reads the book perceives, is to show that there were illicit relations between George Washington and Sally Fairfax; and that they were continued for some years, lasting after she was married, possibly after he was married. Hughes does not put it in black and white anywhere; but you cannot turn the pages of his book without seeing that he attempts to leave in the mind of the reader the impression that those relations were intimate, close, secret; that where there was so much smoke there must have been fire.

This is not the place or the need to defend George Washington or any one else from charges of sexual irregularity in later life. A nation which has for a long time admired Alexander Hamilton is not so squeamish about such matters as might appear. But with regard to Sally Fairfax there is not one single documentary proof that anything passed between them except letters. He did write her as a very old man, after he had retired — a very suspicious letter, because he says, " My wife has written to you by the same mail." Yet candor compels the further fact that the still extant draft of Mrs. Washington's letter is in the hand of her husband, as were many drafts of others of her letters.

With Washington's later life, Moore has nothing to do except as to the relations of his family. Fortunately, or otherwise, Hughes' book closes at 1762. But do not be discouraged, fellow members! There will presumably be another volume, probably two more volumes, doubtless in the same austere lines. If anything that ever happened to George Washington can be placed in a doubtful or suspicious light, you may be sure that we shall not be deprived of those vices of the ancient Romans by Hughes.

Out of the three authors, Woodward is the sole author who treats Washington's military and public service. His point of view is that Washington was a poor general; that he was a beaten general (only the British didn't know it); that they

would have defeated him if they had taken advantage of their opportunities — evidently they did not read the morning papers; and that throughout his experience as a general he showed weakness.

Criticism of Washington's military genius goes back to the school of writers to whom our own Charles Francis Adams belongs. Nevertheless there is some justification for the biographer's showing that the Revolution was fought in a clumsy, irresolute kind of fashion. How far was Washington responsible for that? Woodward's great military discovery is that the British would have been killed off in a very short time if Washington had organized a force of light cavalry fighting in small bunches.

When charges are brought against Washington of ignorance and inexperience please recall the fact that the one American who had anything approaching Washington's preparation for the job of commanding the Army was George Washington. His experience upon the frontier was not equalled by any other American military leader. He had also had an experience of dealing with partially trained troops. He knew what American soldiers could do and what they would not do. Furthermore, he understood military strategy. Right here in the Boston Athenæum we have some of his military library. He bought books, and he evidently read them. He tried to make himself familiar with tactics and strategy.

Though Washington was new to the handling of a large force, his military successes are indisputable and essential to independence. Yet the successes of his military command were but a small part of his services to the United States. He kept the army together, kept Congress together, kept the country together. He was the unconquered granite monument that had not been stirred to the end of the war.

I speak with great hesitation in the presence of so distinguished a military critic as General Schaff, but it seems proven by the record that in succession Howe, Burgoyne, Clinton, and Cornwallis were appointed to command in America, not because they were court favorites, but because each was supposed to be a superior soldier; and it cannot be denied that all were defeated — three by George Washington directly, and the other by an army of which he was commander-in-chief.

The military record of George Washington is not only great, it is better than that of most European soldiers of his time. If Washington was a poor general, because with his colonial training he was not able to appreciate the necessities of warfare, what shall we say of four successive, highly trained commanders sent over with great resources behind them; and in the end Washington was victor? I submit that we have some reason to be content with the general who under such disabilities finally won the war.

Woodward sees President Washington's administration in 1795 on the point of breaking into fragments. That means simply that Woodward is not acquainted with the history of that period, nor with the relations between Washington and the public during that period. The evidence is abundant. No ten years of our history is equal to the first decade, 1789 to 1799, in the amount of authentic sources available. It is Woodward against the sources. The curious thing about this unsuccessful president is that people did not seem then to know he was unsuccessful. He went out of office with the nation behind him. If you go through his diplomacy and his financial policy, you will find he certainly was as successful as any president who has succeeded him.

Woodward has borrowed from other authorities the totally unproven and unprovable charge that Washington was a part of a criminal conspiracy to secure a constitution in 1787 for the aid of holders of government securities and money lenders. The answer to that is simple. Beard, and those who have followed him, do not seem to be aware that the men who framed the Constitution also framed the Declaration of Independence. Some of them had been concerned in the framing of the Articles of Confederation; some of them (including Washington) went as far back as the First Continental Congress, and even the Stamp Act Congress. They were the men who were governors and members of the legislatures in their own states. For whatever reason, they were the men who were trusted by the people of their colonies, chosen to office and given important tasks and responsibilities. In 1789 the whole nation, certainly the people who had votes, were in this supposed conspiracy to force a Constitution upon a helpless people.

So it is with Washington's retirement. Here are some of the carefully considered generalizations of Mr. Woodward:

> He was vain, fond of adulation and power, and greatly disturbed by criticism, but he was — so I think — a little ashamed of his vanity, and concealed it under an appearance of great modesty. (p. 454)
>
> Washington kept quiet indeed after going home to Mount Vernon. He was then very grey inside, his interest in life had melted away, he was not longer a hero in his own mind; he was merely a sad, disillusioned old man who felt himself nearing the horizon of life. (p. 453)
>
> He was the most pessimistic great man in all history. Does not this letter remind you of his complaining epistles written during the Revolution? (p. 423)

Washington was by nature a great leader of men, and not simply men assembled in a line and wearing uniforms. He was the leader of capitalists, of men of affairs. In many ways he was the most successful business man of his time, largely due to his shrewdness in buying and selling land. Perhaps some unearned increment was earned by the brains of people who had the force of mind to see what the development of wild lands meant.

Washington was great, not simply as a soldier, not simply as a general, not simply as an administrator; he was great because he was one of the men who understood the conditions of the time in which he lived, and played a great part in building up the nation.

As for Sally Fairfax, let us be thankful for Rupert Hughes, because he has said the worst — and what is the worst? That George Washington, having the acquaintance of a beautiful lady who was the wife of another, regretted not having made her his own wife. Since she married another, he went his way; and whatever the temptations he may have felt, he acted as a man of honor. It takes more than Rupert Hughes to destroy our belief in Sally Fairfax or to uproot the reputation of George Washington.

Mr. Norcross contributed copies of letters from his collection.

E. P. GAINES TO JOSIAH SNELLING

Mississippi river
near the lower mouth of
Blak river, Nov. 1, 1822.

DEAR SIR, — I have just now met with the boat by which you will receive this, with a package of letters addressed to you and your officers. Intending immediately to depart, and continue my voyage during the night, I took the liberty to subjoin to the outside of one of your letters a hasty scrawl, advising you of my having found in the package one addressed to myself, but since returning to my boat I find my movement unavoidably delayed by head winds. I have now the pleasure to tell you that my letter contains the pleasing intelligence of the good health of my family. It is from my wife and although it has been two months upon the route, you will believe me (as you have often been long absent from one who I am sure can not but be very dear to you) when I say that a letter from all the crowned heads of Europe could not have been more acceptable — nay not as acceptable to me. Even had it been filled with all the complimentary things they could have put in it, it could have told me nothing of "wife, children and friends."

I have sailed tolerably well during the best part of yesterday and the day before, but the low state of the river, the incalculable number of sand bars and Islands, added to the want of an experienced pilot and boatman, tend to render our movement extremely difficult. The boat has been arrested in her passage over more than fifty sand-bars, at many of which all of us have assisted and most of us have been compelled to jump into the water. I think myself the best waterman of the party, and have been out among the rest without feeling the least inconvenience from being wet.

I owe Mrs. Snelling a thousand thanks for the care and kindness with which she contributed to make me forget that since my arrival at St Anthony I have been in a wilderness. Assure her, her husband, and little ones of my prayers for her and their health and happiness.

E. P. GAINES.

P.S. Herewith I return a pair of shoes taken from the room which I occupied at your quarters, by my boy, through mistake. E. P. G.

Addressed: Colonel J. Snelling Commanding St. Anthony.

Ralph Waldo Emerson to Rufus W. Griswold

Concord, 19 Sept. 1844

Dear Sir, — I delayed replying to your letter which I received last week because I did not well know what to say to it. I will not longer postpone saying that you must do as you will, without suggestion from me. If you will have my council, it is that you leave me out of the book, or at least from this edition of the book. Though not now a young man, I am still but a new writer of books, rather too recent an adventurer in this way for a critic to make up a confident judgement as to the character and value of my writing. I have copious and increasing materials before me for more books, and, it is probable, may in a year or two give a good judge a fairer chance for a sound opinion.

For the paper respecting Mr. Everett I have to say that I have pleased myself now and then with drawing (in familiar style with that) a head that impressed me, and have collected materials for a little portrait gallery, which I may some time publish, but all together and probably not very soon. I will think further of your proposition with regard to such public characters as I know, and if I find myself ready to aid you, I will write you on the subject. Yours respectfully

R. W. Emerson.

Addressed: Rufus W. Griswold, Esq., Care of Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

Ralph Waldo Emerson to Nathaniel Wood [1]

Concord, 13 December, 1866

My Dear Wood, — Your letter long since received and interested me so much that I wished and was on the point of replying to you at once; but though I believe I pass for an idle man I find my days short, and especially at that moment my correspondence quite filled them. So I prudently waited until, as I foresaw, it would be necessary to write. I shall not now go into the defence of the College, on which I might have much to say, but abstain the rather that on second reading of your letter, I took much of your attack for the old

[1] The letter was written to a member of the Class of 1821, Harvard College, and the persons mentioned in the letter were also of that Class, except Henry Lee, Jr.

play of your wit for which you were ever renowned, and in which I could not venture to contend with you. And this interpretation was confirmed by the surprising but most welcome *non sequitur* of the conclusion, that you would subscribe fifty dollars to the Alumni Hall. I wrote many letters, as I say, but got few answers as satisfactory as your own. Quincy [2] banters me, every time I see him, with inquiries into my success as a collector. But he, also, I have no doubt, will be a subscriber. On consultation with Reed,[3] he urged me, lately to sign and send to every man the paper requesting each to put his name and amount to it. But Hill,[4] who was one of the first was absent, it appears in the West, so that I have only very tardily got my paper again, which I now enclose praying for your signature and its prompt return to me. When I have got all of our country names that I can, I shall carry it to Reed, who will get the gifts of the Boston men. Col. Henry Lee, Jr. Boston who is the Treasurer of the Executive Committee, advertises that he calls in the amount of subscription on the first of January coming.

I enclose also a copy of Barnwell's [5] letter to the class through me, which I mentioned to you already. You will have the goodness to return this copy with the subscription paper, for Upham [6] complains that I did not send it to him.

I had several copies made, but my correspondents kept them. Ever yours affectionately,

R. W. EMERSON.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON TO EDNAH CHENEY

CONCORD, 25 March 72

DEAR MRS. CHENEY, — I shall come with pleasure to Woman's Club next Monday Evening but wish to say that I will not be reported, and I have the impression that I have seen lately in the newspapers that one of those violators, a reporter, had crept into your sacred assembly also. Now I gladly read to friends any paper that I have at the moment under my hands, in the hope that whilst it may interest them, it helps me to see its faults and wants, and am disgusted if Paul Pry is there, and prints his parody of it in a newspaper.

So please to secure my safety if any such danger exist. I should

[2] Josiah Quincy (1802–1882).
[3] Benjamin Tyler Reed (1802–1874).
[4] John Boynton Hill (1796–1886), of Mason, N. H.
[5] Robert Woodward Barnwell (1801–1882).
[6] Charles Wentworth Upham (1802–1875).

not write this if I had not been surprised lately with this vexation in most unexpected quarters. With great regard, Yours

R. W. Emerson.

Thomas Carlyle to ——

Chelsea, 9 July, 1853

My Dear Sir, — I had evidently read with shameful negligence, — indeed I did not know that the *place where* had much to do with the question in hand, and so took less note of that point.

But it is clear as noonday from the very page you were examining that Pharsalia is *not* the scene of the Centurians exploit: it is Expressly said. Es werd wahr. They talked farther (going into general history and talk) of the tenth legion, leaving Pharsalia, etc., altogether behind them.

So that if you can now find *anywhere* a Centurian of the tenth legion, called either G. Caecelius or G. Icilius, who does a feat in defending a Post of any kind, either an outpost or his ground in a general battle, we shall have found (in all human likelihood) the very passage in question, and the then fashionable French translation of that will be the " Book " which Icilius the Second produced at Landshut, and convinced the King by.

Of course, I shall be glad if you decide to *catch* this fox (as probably so fierce a leaper and rider will), and tho' one cannot make any broth of such a thing it will be comfortable to see it slain, and you, as is your right, shall have the brush. Believe me always Yours sincerely

T. Carlyle.

Do you chance to know the address of one *Davies* a young Cantab Clergyman somewhere far East in the city, — who translated or helped to translate *Plato's Republic* lately? I have *lost* a note of his, not answered yet.

Dont mind: I have *found* it!

Alfred Tennyson to James Thomas Fields

Greysrock Hall Headley Liphook
June 5th, 1867.

My Dear Mr. Fields, — I have to acknowledge the receipt of your bill for £200 and am very glad that the Diamond Edition has turned out so profitable. It is not without errors: for instance in the very last line ' morning ' for morn which offends my ear, and there

still remains (I think, for I have not the book with me here) in the Inaugural Ode inventions stored which offend my ear still more '*shons sto*' is horrible not to mention that Invention is the less prosaic.[7]

I will think of your proposal which seems to be very liberal.

I am rejoiced that your house is (as you say) going in strongly for an International copyright. I am sure both England and America would profit if such a measure were carried.

Believe me with best remembrances to Mrs. Fields, Very truly yours

A. TENNYSON.

I ought to have answered you before but I have not been at home lately and there has been some delay in forwarding my letters.

[7] "Uplift a thousand voices full and sweet,
In this wide hall with earth's invention stored, . . ."

JANUARY MEETING, 1927.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 13, 1927, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Estate of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, family papers of his grandfather Dr. Jacob Bigelow, and of his great-grandfather Col. William Scollay, as well as of Col. Scollay's sister, Mercy Scollay, who brought up the children of Gen. Joseph Warren.

From Miss Emma L. Coleman, copies of letters of her niece, Miss Margaret Hall, of North Cohasset, while she was at the Canteen of the Two Flags at Châlons-sur-Marne in the service of the Red Cross, in the World War, illustrated by photographs taken by her on four battle-fronts; also Jeffries papers.

From Henry L. Shattuck, for the Estate of Henry Lee, a collection of letters, 1784–1837, written by John Adams and John Quincy Adams to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, of Cambridge.

From Eugene E. Prussing, of Hollywood, California, a letter of Bushrod Washington and Lawrence Lewis, December 5, 1826, to Washington Thornton, from Mount Vernon.

From Fred H. Williams, records of the Central and Century Clubs of Boston, 1873 to 1892.

By purchase, *Almanacs* of Daniel Travis, 1709, 1711, and Thomas Paine, 1718, 1719, with notes of Judge Samuel Sewall.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck, an engraved view of the Lee Mansion, a series of five etchings of views at the North End of Boston by the late Darius Cobb, and a photograph of Ralph Farnham, 1860.

From William B. H. Dowse, a group photograph of the members of the Atlantic Conference, taken at its silver anniversary, June 27, 1911, also a silver loving cup in memory of George O. Carpenter presented to the conference by his sons, October, 1898.

From John W. Farwell, engravings of the home of Ralph Waldo

Emerson, Concord, 1883, of Bunker Hill Monument and region, and of the Battle of Bunker Hill; also a photograph of the old Washington Elm, Cambridge, taken about 1900.

From William C. Endicott, a photograph of a water-color sketch by Lieut. John Farley, U. S. A., 1828, of John Randolph of Roanoke.

From Theodore Lyman, three albums containing photographs of many persons of distinction in the Civil War and in political life, gathered by his father, the late Col. Theodore Lyman.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a letter head showing a west view of Harvard College, and several photographs.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from John Woodbury, accepting resident membership in the Society.

The PRESIDENT announced the appointment of the new Committee of Publication, to hold office till the May meeting of the Society: GEORGE FOOT MOORE, Chairman, CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH, HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM, GARDNER WELD ALLEN and WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER DOWSE

The following letter to the Society was read:

BOSTON, December 8th, 1926.

GENTLEMEN, — I herewith present and give to the Massachusetts Historical Society the oil painting of myself which is now in the rooms of the Society in Boston, if the Society will do me the honor of accepting the same. Very Faithfully

WM. B. H. DOWSE.

The painting, by Mr. Hermann Hanatschek, was in the room and, after a few words by the President, stating that the Council had informed Mr. Dowse that the gift would be most acceptable and that the Society already was indebted to him for his interest and generosity, Mr. KELLEN, accepting the gift on behalf of the Society, said:

In 1856 on July 30th there came out of Cambridge, according to Edward Everett, this Society's "greatest benefactor"! The new-comer's name appears on a paper written within a book in one of the cases in this room, reading as follows:

CAMBRIDGE, July 30, 1856.

This volume, "Purchas His Pilgrimes," being numbered 812 in the Catalogue now in the press of Mess. John Wilson & Son is delivered by me on this thirtieth day of July, 1856 to the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as an earnest & evidence of my having given the whole of my library to such Massachusetts Historical Society, the books to be preserved forever in a room by themselves, only to be used in said room.

THOMAS DOWSE.

In presence of

O. W. WATRISS.
GEORGE LIVERMORE.

The library, with a gift of $10,000 for the care of it, and a further one of $3,000 for installing it, came in due course into the physical possession of the Society. When the Society took up its quarters here, the Dowse Library was placed in this noble room, with which it shares the name, and from which, though open to freest use, no one of its five thousand volumes can ever be taken.

Many rare volumes are in the Collection, in addition to *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. Among them the first edition of Spencer's *Faerie Qveene*, 1590, 1591 (2 volumes); the first edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 1668; Higginson's *New England's Plantation*, 1630; Ward's *Simple Cobbler of Agawam*, 1647; Wood's *New England's Prospect*, 1635; Morton's *New English Canaan*, 1637; John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 1632; Increase Mather's *History of the Indian Wars*, 1676; Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New England*, 1624; and many other valuable imprints. It is, however, richer in its long series of the best editions of the greater names in English literature.

The whole collection formed a superb private library, most of the books having been imported directly by the collector, in handsome bindings, reflecting the taste and good judgment of the owner, while its disposal was a credit alike to his head and his heart. It should be said in passing that George Livermore, one of the witnesses to the holographic paper just read, whose portrait hangs in this room with that of Thomas Dowse and

that of his eulogist, was admitted to this Society on November 22, 1849, was a most useful member, and would appear to have been the moving spirit that inspired the gift of the library with the attendant funds.

But Thomas Dowse was not to remain the sole benefactor of that name of the Society. On February 14, 1918, a grand-nephew of Thomas Dowse was elected a resident member of the Society. An opportunity to emulate his great-uncle's example soon presented itself. There were the Archives of the Colony and Province still unpublished. The House Journals of the Great and General Court from 1714 to 1779 had been printed, from time to time, in limited editions, but the State did not possess copies of some of them in its own archives. The expense of making good this want would be very large, while the cost of printing still others, under public auspices — as in the case of the Province Laws — became almost a scandal. Meanwhile the original manuscripts of the Journals had been burned or lost through various chances. It was felt to be nothing less than shameful that the Commonwealth should not have within the State House walls a complete set of the records of the Legislature and that it should not print its Archives as other States had done. The new member heard of this situation and, actuated by the triple motive of serving the State, benefiting the Society, and showing his own appreciation of the honor of membership, made it possible for the Society to enter upon the publication. This has now proceeded for a number of years; and annually there appears a volume of the series, re-edited and in definitive form, of these valuable historical documents. It should be said that the State has recognized the importance of the project and aids by taking a number of copies for distribution among libraries within and without the Commonwealth. The assurance of an annual volume for all the future places the undertaking among the most important of those attempted by the friends of historical research.

It is matter of congratulation that the portrait of William Bradford Homer Dowse, the second benefactor of that honored name, has now come into the permanent possession of the Society, as emphasizing his continued interest in its work of collecting and making available historical material, and as an incitement to others to do likewise.

William Cheever's Diary, 1775–1776

In submitting extracts from a diary of William Cheever, Dr. Shattuck said:

The diary which I am about to read contains little new. Its chief interest is that it is a matter of fact story, contemporaneous. The writer was twenty-three, A.B. Harvard 1771, and died unmarried in 1786. The Cheevers were people of property. William's father, William Downes Cheever, having inherited from an uncle, whose partner he was, a sugar bakery, corner of Cambridge and Staniford Streets. They were conservative, like many people of property; but not conservative enough to be Tories, refugees, and to risk confiscation. They were middle-of-the-road people. It seems to me noteworthy that the diary contains no hint of political leanings, either toward King or "Provincials." The passionless brevity with which the Battle of Bunker Hill is treated seems also worthy of note. In like manner, the Evacuation of Boston moves not William's even temperature.

The "distrest situation" took the ladies of the family to Taunton, the men remaining to watch their interests, and events. Why did William return from Taunton to Boston via Charlestown, not direct?

May 19, 1775. I arrived in Town from Charlestown at 1 oClo. after having seated and left my Mamma, Aunts and Sisters with Canterbury at Taunton on Acco't of the distrest Situation of Boston.

21. A Party of Soldiers and Sailors, who man'd several Sloops the last Evening to go in quest of Hay, etc., at *Grape-Island* near Weymouth, fir'd upon by our People and oblig'd to return with little or none.

25. The three Generals, Burgoine, Clinton and Howe arrived to day from England in the *Cerberus:* The *Merlin* having got in with their Horses yesterday.

28. Yesterday the Provincials set fire to some Hay, etc., on *Noddles-Island;* (as they did the 23d Ins: upon *Hog-Isl'd*) collected for Government Use; in consequence of which a party of marines were sent over, whereby a pretty constant Fire was kept up best part of the night; and several of the regulars killed; also a King's Schooner that went to annoy the provincials, listed upon Chelsea Beach and was set on fire and burnt.

30. Several Buildings were set on fire yesterday by the provincials on *Noddles-Island;* as likewise Hay, etc., on *Thompson's;* and to day the large Mansion-Ho. occupy'd by H Williams was entirely consumed and considerable of Cattle drove off.

June 7th. Mr. Brigden and Wife went over the Ferry to day, by whom I sent a blue-painted Chest, and a Trunk with Goods, as also a small Scotch Carpet, to be forwarded to Taunton.

9th. The Regulars landed at, and brought over from Noddle's-Island a considerable quantity of Marsh-Hay, unmolested.

10th. The Country People set fire to an empty Store on Noddles Island, which had been lately improv'd by the King.

12. Two Transports arrived yesterday, from which they landed to day. Horses and Recruits.

14. Several Transports came in, from which were landed Horses, Detachments of Regiments and Recruits, together with some Cattle, etc.

17. A large number (2 or 3000) of Regulars commanded by G'l Howe were boated over to Charlestown to day to dislodge the Provincials of a Hill which they had intrench'd on; this they did, and set the Town of *Charlestown* on fire. The Engagement was very warm whereby a great many are killed and wounded, (*10 or 1100 of the Regulars*) A melancholy Scene of Fire and Slaughter.

19. Press-Gangs parading the Streets in quest of Labourers, Black; etc. likewise several Persons taken up and imprisoned upon Suspicion. The usual Consequences of martial Law.

July 1. Yesterday Mr. James Lovell and John Leach[1] with others were imprisoned by martial Authority.

7. Very early this morning the Provincials set fire to a house and Barn lately occupied by Mr. Brown very near the lines, which occasion'd some shot on both sides. an Exchange of Shot from the Lines and Roxbury is very frequent.

12. Last night the Provincials in several Whale-boats went to long-Island and carried off all the People, Cattle, etc; and set fire to several Buildings on that and other Islands.

19. The King's troops from Ireland have been landing in detach'd Parties these several days past, which make up 2 or 3000 Men.

20. The Provincials set fire to day to the light-house and other Buildings on the little Brewster: as they had done a few days since those on Thacher's Island: and sometimes stop the Fishing-Boats coming up to town.

[1] A journal kept by Leach during his confinement is printed in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XIX. 255.

21. A Court martial has been held for several days upon Mess'rs Lovell, Leach and others, at which one Carpenter was sentenced to be hanged this day for carrying Intelligence over to the Provincials by swiming; however it was thought fit to reprieve him. Martial Law has had a full Swing for this month past. The Provost with his Band entering houses at his pleasure, stoping Gentlemen from enter:g their Warehouses and puting some under Guard: as also pulling down Fences, etc., particularly Mr. Carnes's Rope Walk [2] and our Pasture.

30. Last night or this morning early the Provincials endeavoured to cut off the advanced Guards of the Regulars at Charlestown Lines: which being discovered, caus'd several Shot whereby some were killed and taken Prisoners on both sides.

31. The Provincials in several Whale Boats went to the Lighthouse and removed or burnt every thing there, taking likewise about 30 Marines, an Officer of whom they kill'd, and near 20 Carpenters.

Aug'st 2nd. There has been considerable of Firing for this two days past at different times between the Encampment of the Regulars on Bunker's hill and the Provincials upon Prospect-hill both with small Arms and Cannon.

4. This day John Gill was imprisoned by martial Authority.

10. The *Faulkland* Sloop of War having pursued a Schooner which run into Cape Ann, man'd her Boats in order to board and bring her off; but the People mustering fast, oblig'd them to retire with the loss of about 40 Men, and several of their Boats: the Lieutenant being wounded among the rest, and just escaped with the Ship.

12. Fresh Provisions have been very scarce and high for some time past: Sheep selling at 6 or 8 Dolls: apiece, Ducks 2 Doll: a pair: Squabs 1 Dollar, Butter 1/4 doll:; Eggs 2 pistareens per doz: and other things in the like proportion.

15. This afternoon arrived a number of Transports that went about a fortnight since after Provisions etc: which it is said have brought from Gardiner's and Fisher's Islands 1900 Sheep, 101 head of Cattle, 70 Hogs, some Cheese, Butter, Eggs, and Wood. The Transports were man'd with Refugees, Sailors and about 100 Soldiers.

16. Considerable of Firing between the Lines and some Ground thrown up in Roxbury. Passes are granted to some people under very great Restrictions to cross Winisimet ferry.

[2] Edward Carnes died 1782 and left to his son, Edward, " a certain house that I own in Palmer's pasture with the ropewalk tools in his possession." The ropewalk seems to have been on Cambridge Street, corner of Chambers, West Boston.

17. A quantity of Beef delivered out from the Markethouse to the Inhabitants at 8d per lb.

25. The *Scarborough* and *Canceux* Men of War came in this afternoon from Piscataqua; in the former of which were Governor Wentworth and Family.[3]

27. A very constant Fire kept up between the King's Troops and Provincials — a little above Penny-Ferry.

30. An almost continual Firing has been maintain'd for this week past betwixt the Troops both in Charlestown and Roxbury, tho' without the Loss of many Lives.

Sept. 4. A Vessell or so now and then drops in with Cattle, etc: bought a quarter of one to day which will make the first fresh Provision in the family since my Mamma, etc., went out.

5*th.* Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, etc., which were brought from Quebeck and N. Scotia have been selling two days past: out of which my Father bought two Oxen.

15. A secret Rumour in Town of News circulating in the Country that publick Matters tend towards an Accommodation. Happy should it prove so!

17. This day Dr. Cooper's Meeting-House was open'd for one Morrison a Deserter from the Provincials, who was dismissed a few Years since from Peterboro' in N. Hampshire on Account of Misdemeanours, etc., at which the Scotch people chiefly attended.[4]

22*d.* Several Balls came into town to day as for the Week past at times from the Works at Roxbury, which did some damage: many of them passing just by the Hay-Market: mostly 18 Pound Shot.

26. This day arrived the *Cerberus,* which carried home an Account of the 17th June; and brings for news that more troops were shipt for N. America.

30. General Gage it is said has engaged a Transport to carry him to England.

Octob: 2. Mr. Gill and some others so far liberated as to walk the Town. An Account taking of all the Houses, etc., in town; and every Inhabitant required by Proclamation to give in a List of those in his Family.

10. This day General Gage set sail for England in the *Pallas* a Transport.

11. Yesterday it is said an Express arrived from Quebeck giving an Account of the Provincials having proceeded as far up as St. John's Fort.

[3] Sir John Wentworth (1737–1820), governor of New Hampshire, and Frances Deering (Wentworth) Atkinson.

[4] Rev. John Morison (1743–1782). Smith, *Peterborough in the Revolution,* 264.

18. Last Evening several Shot were fired into Town from a Gondelo off of Cambridge tho' without killing any one.

28. Several Proclamations have been issued to-day, respecting departing the Town, — carrying away more than 5 £: and an Association to preserve the Peace and good Order of the Town.[5]

Nov. 9. Several Companies were boated over to Phip's Farm and brought off some Cattle at noon day under Cover of a Ship in the river, Cannon on Charlestown point, and their own Floats, etc; without any Loss.

15. Almost every House whose Owner has gone out of Town is taken up for the Troops: and the old South Meeting-House is turn'd into a riding School for the light Horse, the Pews and Galleries being taken down — many of the other Places of Worship are turn'd into Barracks.

24*th.* This day Permission was given for Innoculation of the Small-Pox.

30. Provisions and Fuel have been extremely scarce and high for some Weeks past; Wood selling for £25 O.T. the Cord — Coal (Newcastle) £36 O.T. — Charcoal 50/ O.T. Sheep £3 sterl'g, Hogs at the rate of 1/6 sterl'g alive, Geese a Guinea per Pair; Fowls 5/ sterl'g a Piece, Cheese 1/ sterl'g lb, Butter 2/ sterl'g — every thing in like propor'n.

Dec. 3*d.* It is currently reported to day that the Provincials having taken St. John's Fort had set down before Quebeck, which it was thought must surrender; and that they have taken an Ordonance Brig having on board the largest Mortars in England, Shells, Carcasses, Powder and all kinds of Ammunition.

4*th.* The Provincials having thrown up Ground upon an Emminence about half a Musket Shot to the Eastward of *Phips's Farm* last Week, did on Saturday the same at the latter; in Opposition to which the regulars have begun a Battery just above the Copper-Works at the west part of the Town.

7*th.* This day a Provincial-Privateer Brig was brought in by 2 King's Ships: having 75 Men on board and 10 Guns.

10*th.* The Provincial Privateers, it is said, carried in yesterday a Ship from London, a Brig from Scotland and another from the W. Indies; and are almost daily taking Sloops and the like bound in here.

17. The Provincials being busy in carrying on their Works on a Rise at Phips's Farm; a King's Ship at the head of Charles River endeavour'd to stop them by Firing, but a Battery about a Musket-Shot to the Eastward of it threw Shot so hard upon the Ship (the

[5] Nos. 1821 to 1824 in *Collections,* LXXV. 251.

third going thro' her) as oblig'd her to haul down in the night and leave them quiet Possession.

18*th.* Yesterday arrived several Vessells from Hallifax and England with Provisions, etc., and to day the Provincials threw an eighteen lb. Shot into Town which struck upon Dr. Lloyd's Hill without killing any one.

26. Orders were given out from head Quarters to day, for many Persons to leave the Town by the morrow ten oClock.

30*th.* This day Admiral Schuldham arriv'd at Nantasket with a large number of other Vessells.

Jan'ry 9th, 1776. Last Evening between 8 and 9 oClock a Party of the Provincials cross'd the Dam at Charlestown and set fire to a few Houses that remain'd at the upper End of it and afterw'ds carried off a Serjeant and about 10 Men without any Loss. It is worthy of Note, that the above happen'd just as the Curtain was drawn for acting a farce called "the Blockade of Boston;" which was adjourned by the Report of the Actack of Charlestown.

20*th.* This day the Brig *Success* went down to Point Shirley with those Persons who were order'd out; among whom were Mr. Young's Family, Capt Hood, Capt Dean [6] Mr. Marchant etc.

26*th.* A Report prevails in town that the Provincials have been defeated in the lower Town of Quebeck, with very great Slaughter.

31*st.* This day Capt. Prince, Mr. Cutler and others went to the Lines to meet his Son, Job.[7] Accounts of Ships being carried in almost dayly by the Provincial Privateers.

Feb'ry 1st. Admiral Graves sailed for England to day; as likewise the *Canceaux* and a Transport with S'r Wm. Pepperrell and Family.

6. Yesterday was some Firing both of Musquetry and Cannon at Charlestown by which some few of the Regulars were wounded.

14*th.* Last night a Number of the Light Infantry and Grenadiers went over to Dorchester Neck and burnt 4 or 5 Houses and brought away 6 or 7 Prisoners.

26*th.* Last Evening came in a Deserter from the Provincials who gives an Account of their Intention of bombarding the Town, and this afternoon the Steeple of the West-Meeting House was taken down, as likewise Cannon are placing at the side of West-Hill.

March 3d. Last Night and this Morning the Provincials fired many Shells and Shot into Town from Phips's Farm, etc., which greatly endanger'd the Lives of those in it; tho' providentially not any one was killed.

[6] Thomas Young, Joseph Hood, and John Dean.

[7] Job Prince, Sr. and Jr., the latter a ship captain, a Son of Liberty, and "remarkable for his pretended hospitality to strangers."

5*th*. Last Night and this morning a very incessant Fireing from 1/2 past 7 in the even'g 'till 6 this morning: without much damage and this day at noon, Gen'l Howe notified that all Persons who intended to follow the Army should give in their names, as he must withdraw his Troops.

6. Old York removed with his Chest.

8*th*. A Flag was sent out to inform Gen'l Washington that Gen: Howe would remove his Troops without injuring the Town; unless He (Gen: Washington) fired upon his Rear.

9*th*. An Answer by one of Gen. Washington['s] Officer's — that as Gen. Howe did not see fit to offer any terms that should be obligatory upon him; so Gen. Washington would not engage himself by any neither.

17. Gen. Howe left the Town this morning with his Troops; upon which the Continental Army enter'd it.

A paper by Mr. HOWE, on "Timothy Dwight, The Elder, of Yale," was read. It will be published elsewhere.

Mr. NORCROSS contributed from his collection a copy of a letter of

WILLIAM BLACKSTONE TO —— RICHMOND

DEAR SIR, — In answer to Your Enquiries concerning myself and Brother, I am to inform You that I propose going to London on the 16th of Jany; or thereabouts, for I cannot quite fix the Time. My Brother will not be able to stir from College this Xmas, as he will then have just entered on the office of Dean, which requires much personal Attendance. Your Monies shall be ready for your Order on Demand. My Brother and Self join in all Compliments both of the Season and otherwise to Yourself and Miss Richmond. I am, Sir, Your most obliged humble Servt

W. BLACKSTONE.

A[LL] S[OULS] C[OLLEGE], 18 Dec. 1751.

P.S. Your Apprehensions of Robbers may not be ill founded; as I had the Honour to meet with a brace of Highwaymen in my Journey from London who eased me of my Watch and about 50 shillings in Money

If convenient and agreeable I can return You the Money by a Draught on Mr. Child, the Banker; which may be of Service to your Brother in his Remittances. If you chuse this Method pray let

me know to whom and how you would have the Bill made payable; and that before Monday next, when I shall make up my Accounts with the College.

Mr. FORD submitted a series of letters from John Hancock which has long been in the possession of the Society.

JOHN HANCOCK TO THOMAS CUSHING

PHILADELPHIA, Januy. 17th. 1776

DEAR SIR, — Your fav'r from Milford I only Rec'd, and thank you for it, your observation respecting the Conduct of the Merchants of New York as to Remittances is very just, and I think with you that those Sums could and ought to be improved here for much better purposes. I am much oblig'd for your trouble in calling upon my Aunt.[1] I hope this will find you safe arrivd and in the Enjoyment of Domestic Ease and happiness, that you found all your particular Connections well, and not Destitute of many Friends, altho' some would gladly have it thought that you are totally deserted, but by no means, My Good Friend, let the Circumstance of the Election discourage you from the noble pursuit in which you are engaged, your Cause is just, and I am Confident your Conscience will acquit you.[2] I can tell you for a truth that you have left in Congress many who are peculiarly friendly to you, and who, had they a Suspicion that you would not have Returnd to Congress, would have given you many Expressions of their Friendship previous to your Departure. I never flatter, but shall ever in future unbosom my self to you, and write freely, in Confidence that I can Rely on your Friendship, and from a Conviction that you are Deserving of the Esteem I have for you, and I shall ever feel a pleasure in doing any thing that can

[1] Lydia Henchman, widow of Thomas Hancock (1703–1764) and daughter of Daniel Henchman, stationer and bookseller.

[2] Cushing had been dropped from the Massachusetts Bay delegation and Elbridge Gerry elected in his place. James Warren stated with a touch of sarcasm the reason was that Cushing's "Absence could no longer be dispensed with! the Important Post he holds in the County of Suffolk requiring his Attendance may be the reason." *Warren-Adams Letters,* II. 430. In June, 1775, he had not been chosen a member of the Boston delegation to the Provincial Congress and had been elected to the Council. He had not always agreed with his colleagues in the Continental Congress, and it was probably Cushing to whom Warren referred when he wrote to John Adams, December 3, 1775: "A certain colleague of yours has lost, or I am mistaken, a great part of the interest he undeservedly had." Samuel Adams commented caustically on this letter from members of the Congress. *Ib.,* I. 190, 211. See also Adams, *Works,* IX. 368.

Contribute to your Ease or Reputation, as I must say I have Reason to think Endeavours have been made to Disturb both, and which I will not let pass over unnotic'd, for it may Operate further and be the means of stirring up Jealousies and Animosities which had better be nipt in the Bud; of which more in my next.

Severall Members of Congress have mention'd to me the Desire they have to Establish you in that agreeable point of light which your Conduct in their Estimation merits, for that purpose they are framing a Letter to you, to be made such use of as you think best, to be sign'd by a number of them, as they have some how an Opinion that undue Methods have been practic'd which have Operated to your Disadvantage in the late Election, they are very sanguine in this matter, and I assure you that you are mention'd by Respectable Members in the most Advantageous and Agreeable Light, and you may Rely I do not throw any Contradictory Strokes in the way; of this more in my next.[3] As I did not expect to be able to write you a Line by this, you must excuse my not being more explicit, having ever since your Departure been exceeding ill, my Cold brought on a Fever and much affected one of my Eyes, that I have, and still do suffer greatly. I hope by next Opportunity to be able to write you more fully.

South Carolina have authoriz'd Mr. Lynch and Rutlidge to act, and have sent for Mr. Gadsden home, who Departs by water to morrow.[4] We have this Day Rec'd Disagreeable Accounts from Canada, poor Montgomery and severall Officers Killed, Arnold wounded, etc. We have agreed to have Nine Battalions in Canada, I now send this Express, to have one Rais'd in N. Hampshire, one in Connecticut, etc. I fear for the Defection of New York, the Spring will open before we are Ready, however we must bestir ourselves. I hope in my next to send you a good Account of a little Expedition order'd, which is now executing, but I am under injunction, etc. Intercepted Letters from Gov. Franklin and the Speaker of the Jersey Assembly, Mr. Skinner, have been Read in Congress, their Contents I can't mention, Gov. Franklin is under Guard, and Skinner gone on board the *Asia*.[5]

[3] *Warren-Adams Letters*, I. 212.

[4] Gadshen had incurred the dislike of both Lynch and Rutledge on the Association of 1774 and Lynch wrote to Schuyler, January 20, 1776: "Business now goes on Swimmingly, for Why? my colleague Gadsden is gone home, to Command our Troops, God save them." Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, I. 323. The Provincial Congress of South Carolina about this time continued its delegates and constituted any two of them a quorum to represent the colony. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), IV. 54.

[5] Franklin's letter is in *New Jersey Archives*, X. 676, and Cortlandt Skinner's, in Force, *American Archives*, 4th Ser., IV. 363.

I inclose you a pamphlet which makes much Talk here, said to be wrote by an English Gentleman Resident here by the name of Paine, and I believe him the Author, I send it for your and Friends' Amusement.[6]

The Inclos'd Letters I Return you having Rec'd them since your Departure.

I shall Look on you as a stated friendly Correspondent, I make offers of sincere Attachment and Friendship to you, and wish for a Return of yours, and you may Rely on every Service in my power, and that I am totally undisguis'd, and beg that our friendly correspondence may continue, I will give you every thing from hence, both in and out Doors, that I consistently can, and pray write me every Occurrence with you, by every Post, omitt no Opportunity. For a very particular Reason do send me the state of the late Election of Members for Congress, Number of Votes, etc., Candidates, etc.[7] What is the Assembly about. I have Rec'd no orders to Remain here, we know nothing of the Election but by the News papers. Give me all News, and by every Opportunity. I shall send your Letters always under cover to the General.

Mrs. Hancock [8] Joins me in best Compliments to you and Lady and Family. Do tell Mrs. Cushing when I see her I shall use friendly Freedoms more than ever and shall not look upon her as a Stranger, and would not be so thought by her. I shall give her your history. I am with Real Esteem, My Good Friend, yours without Reserve

JOHN HANCOCK.

How goes on the Militia matters in Assembly, am I to be notic'd in the Appointment of Officers.

PHILADELPHIA, Feby. 1st. 1776

DEAR SIR, — I Rec'd your favor Dated at Head Quarters, am Glad to hear of your safe Arrival there; since which none of your favors. I wrote you a long Letter by an Express under Cover to the General. The Letter I then mention'd to be Signing by the Delegates will be Deliver'd you by Mr. Hooper [9] who has Leave of Absence and is now on his way to the Camp, make a proper use of that

[6] *Common Sense,* published this month. It is strange that Hancock had so direct indication of the author, while Hewes, as late as February 11 did not know who had written it.

[7] The credentials of the delegates, dated January 18, were laid before Congress by Gerry on February 9, but the advance news enabled those in Philadelphia to serve beyond the limit of January 30 fixed by the old credentials.

[8] Dorothy, daughter of Edmund Quincy. The "sudden marriage" took place in September, at the house of Thaddeus Burr, in Fairfield, Conn.

[9] William Hooper, of North Carolina (1742–1790), a native of Massachusetts, married Annie Clarke.

Letter, and of some other Circumstances you are Acquainted with. Not having heard any thing from our Assembly with respect to a new Delegation, and our Time Expiring yesterday, we mention'd it to Congress, and I proposed to Resign my place, not looking upon ourselves Authorized to appear in Congress again; the Congress apprehending it was not the intention of Massachusetts to be unrepresented and a News paper being produc'd wherein mention was made of a new Appointment they order'd the paper to be put on file, and Desir'd us to Attend in Congress as usual, untill we Rec'd the further Directions of our Assembly. How can it happen that no Account was forwarded, the Secretary ought to know his Duty. I cannot Reconcile it, but ——

We go on as usual. I have been much hurried, in giving out Commissions, etc., very little time to my self. I have sent Cash and Commissions for the Battalion Raising in our province for Canada to the Assembly. Lord Stirling with some of his Troops has Taken a large Transport Ship bound with Necessaries to Boston, and she is now unloading in Elizabeth Town point.[10] We are Disarming the Tories in New York Government. Schuyler we hear has Attack'd John Johnson with 700 Tories, Vanquish'd them and Taken 700 Arms.[11] The Philadelphia Battalion [12] is march'd to Canada, the New Jersey Battalion [13] follows in a day or two. Col. St. Clair's Battalion in a few days will follow. this St. Clair was a Regular Officer, he married Mr. Bayard's Daughter of Boston, and a fine fellow he is.[14] I hope the General will send a General Officer to Command in Canada, we have wrote him to that Effect.[15] We have sent a Committee [16] to New York to Confer with Genl. Lee and the New York Committee about that City.

I inclose you a Minute respecting the Conduct here as to the Ships, you will peruse it, and I leave it entirely to you to Determine matters as you think best, and do give me a particular Account in your next and at all times how you go on.[17] The plans and Drafts

[10] The *Blue Mountain Valley,* Captain James Hamilton Dempster. See Burnett, *Letters,* I. 357, 382.

[11] In Tryon County.

[12] Commanded by Colonel John Philip De Haas (c. 1735–1786).

[13] Under Colonel William Maxwell (d. 1798).

[14] Arthur St. Clair (1734–1818) had served under Generals Jeffrey Amherst and James Wolfe. He married in Boston, Phoebe Bayard, daughter of Belthazer and Mary (Bowdoin) Bayard.

[15] March 6, the Continental Congress appointed Brigadier General John Thomas to command the forces in Canada and promoted him to be Major General.

[16] Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Lynch and Andrew Allen.

[17] The vessels were authorized December 13, 1775. *Journals* (Ford), III. 425. The minute is not with the letter.

will be Ready to morrow, and shall be immediately sent. I cannot make them go on faster; do let me know as soon as you can the exact purchases you can make and the Articles, and I must desire you will immediately Dispatch to me a person in whom you can Confide to Carry you the Money, it is Ready, and the Committee think it best you should Dispatch a Man on purpose, as we cannot have a safe Opportunity otherwise, this you will do directly, order the Man to travell fast. pray hurry the Builders, etc. they must do as well as they can till the plans Come. Let me know what Article cannot be purchas'd with you. The Iron cannot be got down, the River is froze, you must get the best you can. Be particular in your next, pray use Dispatch. Tell the people they shall have their pay Regularly, it only wants fetching. Do write me all News, Assembly matters and everything. Do be a faithful Correspondent. Send me what I wrote for in my last. Let me know every movement with you. I send you the Inclos'd Memo. only for your Guide, you will Conform as Circumstances require, but do the best you can in all matters. I Leave it with you, only use the utmost Dispatch, and by all means let ours be as forward as any, do not suffer Massachusetts to be behind any Colonies.

Give us always every Occurrence, write every Post, send your Man for the Money, and do the Needfull in all matters. Adieu. I am sincerely your Friend and Hum. Servt.

JOHN HANCOCK.

If my Man Mr. Spriggs should apply to you for a little Money, I shall be oblig'd to you to supply him. I will Repay you with Thanks.

Our Marine Committee meets this Evening, the plans shall follow this.[18]

PHILADELPHIA, 13 Feby., 1776.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favor of Jany. 30th I have now before me, am glad to hear the Reception you met with, and have no Doubt but you will ever Acquit your self the honest Man, and be superior to the Arts and Cunning of Designing Men. I am Oblig'd to you for the hints you give respecting the Designs of some against me, and wish in your next [you] would be as particular as possible, and let me know every thing passing in your Quarter, by the State of the Elections neither you or I were much Neglected. I am much oblig'd to the Assembly for their Notice of me in the Militia, etc. I intended writing you a long Letter by this Oppor-

[18] See Burnett, *Letters*, I. 273 *n*.

tunity, but I am so engag'd, and indeed I trust the next Post will Reach [Cambridge] as soon as Col. Bull [19] who carries this and has Charge of the Money to the General; that I have only Time to Acquaint you that by Col. Bull I have sent you the Two Drafts for the Ships, and beg the closest Attention may be paid to them, and pray hurry them on as fast as possible, Employ as many persons as possible. I have also sent you by Col. Bull Twenty five Thousand Dollars towards the Expence of the Ship, etc. it is pack'd in a Box directed to you, and you will please to send me a Receipt for it; I will send you some more Money by the Person I desir'd you in my last to send, and by him will write you or sooner, more particularly. Inclos'd you have Dimensions, etc. of the Ships for your Guide. Pray inform me in your next how much Hemp, Cordage, etc. you have or can purchase; as to the Iron you must get it on the best Terms you can, as it will be impossible to get it from hence. As to Cannon more in my next upon that head, the Committee have not yet reported on that matter. Let me know in your next how much Duck you will want and it will be sent from New York. Do engage every Article you can and let me know your Success as soon as possible. Let me know your prospect as to Iron. I beg you will be very particular in your next; pray employ as many hands as can possibly be usefull about the Ships, don't be behind any of the Colonies. I Rely much on your Activity. I will send you as much more Money as I can obtain.

The purport of this is only to Inform you of sending the Plans and Money, don't forget to send me a Receipt for the Money, and do let me know how you go on. I have Deliver'd to Col. Bull a Plan for Mr. Langdon of Portsmouth [20] to your Care, do forward it to him. I shall write you more particular by next.

Lord North's Motion of the 20 Novr. bodes no Good, but as you undoubtedly have it, I need not enlarge, the making all our Vessells lawful Prize don't look like a Reconciliation.[21]

Do let me hear from you by all Opportunities. As my next Letter will probably Reach you before this I will not add, save my best Respects to Mrs. Cushing and Family. I hope she has not Taken amiss the Freedoms I used on the Back of your quondam Letters, you know my Disposition and Intentions and you must Reconcile it to her.

[19] Colonel John Bull, who had recently been displaced by De Haas.

[20] John Langdon (1739–1805).

[21] To prohibit all trade and intercourse with the colonies. *Parliamentary Register*, III. 195. On February 27 Robert Morris laid before Congress letters just received from Bristol, with "a Copy of the Ministerial Bill for seizing all American Ships." Burnett, *Letters*, I. 366.

I wish you every Blessing and am with solid Friendship, Dear Sir, your's very sincerely

Col. Dickinson [22] marches in a few days at the head of a Battalion of Philadelphia Associators to join Genl. Lee at New York.

Mrs. Hancock begs her Regards to you and Mrs. Cushing.

PHILADELPHIA, 16th Feby., 1776

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you two days past by Col. Bull, when I Sent you the Plans of the Ships, and Twenty five Thousand Dollars towards the Expence of Building the two Ships for the use of the Continent, which hope will Come safe to your hands, and give Additional Springs to the Exertions of those Employ'd, and Rely on you to promote the wish of the Committee in Expediting the Completion of the Ships with all possible Dispatch. Iron must be had with you if possible, but if the whole can't be obtain'd, let me know as early as possible, tho' you may send to Connecticutt or wherever it can be had. I have engag'd Two hundred pieces of Duck at New York, which I will send down to you as soon as may be, but as yet I have not been able to meet with small Duck for the light Sails, do let me know whether any of that kind is to be had with you. We have now under Consideration the Mode of furnishing Cannon for the Ships, as soon as Congress have Determin'd on that Subject, you shall know.[23] I shall be Glad to know from you as early as possible, what Quantity of Duck, Hemp, Cordage, etc. you can obtain, or in other words, what Articles in the whole, or what Quantities of any of the Articles which are necessary for the Compleating the Ships, will be expected I shall supply from hence, the earlier I can be ascertain'd in this the better; as I would by all means be as forward in the Supplies, and be as Ready with our Ships, as any of the Committee, and this in a great measure depends upon you.

Upon the Arrival of your Messenger I shall have some more Money ready to send you, I note in Mr. Cross's Letter mention of Drawing on me, of this give me Notice, for if I send down the Amo[unt] of the whole Estimate for our two Ships, and you still Draw upon me, I shall be put to inconvenience, it will be as agreeable to me to pay orders here from you, as to send the Money down, and whatever orders are Drawn previous to sending the Remainder of the Money, shall be most punctually paid, the Mode in the Case I refer to you.

If there be anything in the way of these Ships that would be

[22] John Dickinson. The march was countermanded.

[23] *Journals* (Ford), IV. 162.

Serviceable and Agreeable to my Brother,[24] and he as Capable for it as any other, and he unemploy'd, I shall be Glad you will give him the preference, in this, or in any other thing from the Council or House that you could serve my Brother in, I shall Take it as a very particular favour if you would promote him, and with this I beg to Impress your mind, and pray use your Influence to have him Notic'd. I think I have suffer'd enough in the common Cause to be entitled to some notice in this Respect, and beg you will improve the hint, and let me hear from you on the Subject, and pray Encourage his promotion.

Upon the whole Subject of the Ships in every particular, the wants, etc. I beg to hear from you by the first Opportunity, and as soon as I can have from you the general and full State, I will afford every possible Supply, and hope you will not meet with a Delay for want of any Supplies; I will do my best, and shall at least be on a footing with others of the Committee.

I wish you would give my Brother a hint of what I have wrote Respecting him, and do aid him if possible.

Pray employ as many Hands in every Department as may be usefull in Expediting the Completion of the Ships; and be particularly Cautious and Carefull that every Man be faithfull and that no Injury be done to the Publick.

I hope soon to hear that things are in forwardness. You shall have every Aid from me.

My best Respects to Mrs. Cushing, and I am very truly, Dear Sir, your Real Friend and very humble Servt.

Do let me hear what passes with you; what in the Camp, Assembly, etc.

Addressed: To The Hon'ble Thomas Cushing Esqr. Member of the Council of Massachusetts Bay etc. at Watertown. JOHN HANCOCK.

PHILADELPHIA, March 7th, 1776

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you of yesterday's Date, by an Express, under Cover to General Washington, which informed you every Circumstance that occurred necessary for your Government, as to the Ships. I hope soon to hear of your having received my Letter, and the twenty five Thousand Dollars, as well as the Plans; all which I sent under the Care of Col. Bull; and that I shall soon have a Receipt for the Money. I have been obliged to detain Mr. Avery,[25] longer than I intended, owing to the urgent Business of Congress,

[24] Ebenezer Hancock (1741–1819). He married Eliza Lowell.
[25] John Avery, Jr.

and the necessary Attendance of the Members in Congress, which has prevented the Meetings of the Marine Committee, and of Consequence retarded their Business, which has delayed Mr. Avery. I now enclose you the Dimensions of every Thing necessary for your Guidance in Matters respecting the Ships, and other Appurtenances. What further occurs to you necessary, let me know, and the Directions shall be transmitted to you. I now beg you will set every Wheel in Motion. Employ every Man that can be useful in the different Branches. Procure every necessary that can be obtained with you. The Deficiencies acquaint me of, and I will endeavour to supply them from hence. In short, exert every Nerve to promote Dispatch. Let the Heads and Galleries for the Ships be neatly carved and executed. I leave the Device to you, But, by all Means, let ours be as good, handsome, strong, and as early completed, as any that are building here, or in any of the other Colonies, for your Reputation and mine are at stake; and there are not wanting those who are fond of prejudicing both. I have ordered two Hundred Pieces of Duck from New York. Set the Sail-Makers to Work. Iron, I hope, you will find with you. If not, let me know, as soon as possible, and I will send some, though, at present, there is none to be purchased in the City, owing to the Badness of the Roads.

I send you by Mr. Avery a further Supply of Money in Bills and Dollars. The Bills I took to oblige the Gentlemen. Please to return them immediately to Me, if not honoured; and if paid, send me a Receipt for the whole Sum, and employ the Money in the Service of the Ships, for the public Account. The Bills and Money are as follows, viz.:

William Barrel [26] & Jona. Mifflin junr Bill on Thomas Mifflin of this Date for Dollars	6000.
William Barrel on Joseph Barrel,[27] do. Date	1000.
Andrew Cabot on Capt. Geo: Dodge of Salem, do. Date	4000
The above Bills you will find enclos'd	11000
Continental Money delivered to Mr. John Avery	19000
Dollars	30000

Do be careful to engage good Block-Makers, and let every Article be well executed.

In writing my several Letters to you, previous to this Date, I had not time to take Copies. I must therefore beg, at your Leisure, you will please to favour me with exact Copies of all; together with the

[26] Of Philadelphia. [27] Of Boston.

first Instructions delivered to you on your leaving Philada. This as soon as you can.[28]

I was in hopes of being able to send you the Dimensions of Rigging, etc. but the Committee are not ready, however if you are Ready before you hear from me do not wait, but Employ the best Judges and follow their Advice, I however Inclose you the Estimate of the Report with respect to Cables and Anchors, the other smaller Cables and Anchors necessary Determine with you, if you do not hear timely from me.

I have nothing new to Communicate. Do write me often and give me every Occurrence. I hope you will send me my Commission as Major General that I may Appear in Character, I assure you this Appointment pleases me, I think I know a little of the Duty, and on my Return I will Endeavour under the Direction of your Board to put the militia upon a Respectable footing, I will not be wanting.[29]

My utmost Exertions shall never be withheld for the Good of my Colony, whenever they can be usefull they shall be Employ'd in that Service however Dangerous, and I Defy Malice itself to Contradict the sincerity and uprightness of those Assertions.

I Beg to be Remembered to all Friends. The Inclos'd Letters I Beg you will order to be Deliver'd; that to Mr. Bant [30] is of Consequence, I therefore Request your particular Care of it.

Mrs. Hancock Joines me in best Respects to your good Lady and Family and I am very truly, Dear Sir, your Real Friend and hum. sert.

What I wrote you in my last respecting my Ship at Salem, I beg your Attention to. The Congress finding my Business increase so much, desir'd me to appoint a private Secretary, which I have done, a Brother of Dr. Rush, he copied the first part of this Letter, but I was oblig'd to call him off, which will account for the Diversity of the writing. I am immensely hurried.

New Hampshire should pay part of the Expence. Mr. Avery paid Harry's Expences to Fairfield which you will Charge and is right.

I Beg you will Acquaint my good Friend Mr. Wm. Cooper,[31] that

[28] To this point the letter is in the writing of Jacob Rush, Hancock's Secretary.

[29] He had been elected first Major General of the Massachusetts Militia February 8, 1776, House and Council concurring; yet the official date is May 8. *Mass. Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War*, VII. 205.

[30] William Bant. Hancock had asked Washington to make him an Aid and John Adams wrote of him: "I must confess I know not where to find a gentleman of more merit, and better qualified for such a place." *Works*, IX. 359.

[31] (1720–1809), town clerk of Boston.

I Rec'd his Letter, and much oblig'd to him, will write him fully by next; that my Regard and Friendship for him is not nor cannot be Lessen'd, that I am his Friend, and ever the Friend of my Colony.

PHILADELPHIA, 3d April, 1776

DEAR SIR, — Your favour of 18th March I duly Rec'd; Congratulate you on Possessing Boston, and that your House is in good order and Additions made to your Furniture. Am Glad to hear the Ships go on so well, pray Continue your Exertions to the uttermost, I have an Account of the Arrival of some Duck at Providence in Capt. Comstock, what you want to make up the proper Quantity you can purchase there. Let me know every Deficiency and as far as it may be had here it shall be sent you. I want much to be with you, but I cannot with propriety request Leave at present, I must therefore submit. I hope you have Dispos'd of my Ship at Salem, do be attentive to it for me. I think General Washington and the Army have great merit; Inclos'd I send you a Copy of the Letter of Thanks [32] I am Commanded to Transmit him by this Express; General Heath is Arriv'd at New York. We have no Accounts of the Destination of the Troops. Do give me a very particular Account of the State of Boston, the Tories, etc. and what you are doing at the Assembly, how stands the Militia Bill? The Inclos'd for Capt. Cazneau [33] please to Cause to be deliver'd him. I have my hands full of Business, I must Dispatch the Express.

Adieu. Mrs. Hancock Joins me in best Regards to you, your Lady and Family, and I am, Dear Sir, your very hum. Servt.

I wish you would write me every Post.

5 o Clock P.M. A French Vessell is just Arriv'd with Twelve hundred Barrels of Powder.

PHILADA., 27th April, 1776

DEAR SIR, — Many Oppor[tunities] and Posts without even a Line from you. I did not think that *you* would have so soon fallen in with the common mode, of which we all us'd to Complain.

I have not time to write Capt. Manly and Cazneau, but if you have Oppor[tunit]y, do Acquaint them from me that they are Appointed Commanders of our two Frigates, and pray them to send me their Answers.

[32] April 2, thanking him on the evacuation of Boston by the British.

[33] Isaac Cazneau.

Inclos'd you have a List of the Officers, etc. determin'd for each Ship. I wish you and Capt. Bradford,[34] with such others as you chuse to advise with, would immediately Recommend proper persons to me for Lieutenants, you will observe there are three for each Ship, and also Recommend proper Persons for Capt[ain]s and Lieu-[tenant]s of Marines. With Respect to the other Officers say, Masters and all other inferior ones, I leave their Appointment to you and Capt. Bradford, and I beg it be immediately done, and their Names Transmitted to me that Warrants may be made out, pray let them be good Men, etc. I have not time to enlarge. I don't know but I shall be with you by and by, but keep writing me till you hear further.

Capt. Bradford is Appointed Agent for Prizes, with Power to Appoint Deputies where he Judges necessary, as I have not time to write him, do inform him and beg his Answer, if he accepts I will send his Commission and Instructions, he must excuse my not writing him now, as I am closely engaged.

Do write me all the News, etc. I shall send you every necessary paper Relative to the Engaging Men, etc. and by next will send you the Names of the two Frigates.

Remember me to all Friends. I am in great haste your Friend.

PHILADA., June 6th, 1776

DEAR SIR, — I have just Time to acquaint you of the Success of two Privateers fitted out from this Port a few Months ago. They have taken three West India Ships loaden as per enclosed Invoice. The Dollars are actually safe landed at Egg Harbour in the Colony of New Jersey, and are on their Way to that City. The Captains of the Privateers thought it best to take the Money into their own Care; and for Fear any Accident should happen to either and the whole be lost or retaken, they divided the Money between them, and are now both arrived.

The Prizes are sent to New England where it is hoped they will get in safe.

By the next Post, I will do myself the Pleasure of writing more fully. I am, Sir, your's sincerely.

The Capt. has this Moment come in and informs me that the Money is now in this City, and offers it to Congress.

[34] John Bradford, of Plympton, Continental Agent for Prizes at Boston. The list of officers is not with the letter.

[ENCLOSURE]

Prizes taken by the Sloop *Congress,* Capt. McElroy, and the *Chance,* Capt. Adams, bound from Jamaica, for London and Bristol.

Ship *Reynolds,* Capt. Rusdell *Lady Juliana,* Capt. Stephenson	}	for London
Juno, Capt. Marsen		Bristol

Their Cargoes consist of:

22,420	Span. Mil. Doll's.	41	Tons Fustick
187 lb.[35]	plate	16	Do. Lig: Vitae
1052	H hds and Trs. Sugar	19	Do. Dye Wood
213	Pun. Rum.	103	Plank: [36] Mahog:
70	Pipes best Madeira Wine	11	Logs Do.
246	Baggs Pimento	17	Elephants Teeth
396	Do. Ginger	1	Cask Tortoise Shell
568	Hydes	1	Cask old Copper.
25	Tr's Cocoa		

PHILADELPHIA, June 12th, 1776

DEAR SIR, — By the inclosed List, comprehending the Names of the Captains with their respective Vessels and the Number of Guns they mount,[37] you will see we are taking every Step in our Power towards finishing the Business. I hope the Appointments will be agreeable. We have [done] every Thing we could to give Satisfaction.[38]

The Money for your Purpose shall be sent off this Week. Being so extremely hurried at present in dispatching several Expresses, I have only Time to assure you that I am [39] with respect your's sincerely.

Do send me my Commission as Major General.

I find I am left out of both House and Council, I can't help it, they

[35] Reading doubtful, but Josiah Bartlett mentions one hundred and eighty pounds of plate in a letter to John Langdon. Force, *American Archives,* 4th Ser., VI. 1027.

[36] Reading doubtful.

[37] Congress appointed captains and named the vessels, as above, June 6, but it did not print a full list until October 10, 1776. *Journals* (Ford), V. 423; VI. 861. In August John Adams complains of a want of knowledge on these heads. *Warren-Adams Letters,* I. 270.

[38] On June 15, 1776, Hector McNeil was appointed to command the *Boston* and Thomas Grennel the *Montgomery;* on August 22, Dudley Saltonstal was to command the *Trumbull* and John Hodge the *Montgomery. Journals* (Ford), V. 444, 696.

[39] From this point the writing is Hancock's.

have a right to do as they please, I think I do not merit such Treatment but my Exertions and my Life are and shall be at their Service.

Colonies	*Names of Ships*	*Captains*	*Guns*
New Hampshire	*Raleigh*	Thos. Thompson	32
Massachusetts	*Hancock*	Wm. Manley	32
Massachusetts	*Boston*	Isaac Cazneau	24
Rhode Island	*Warren*	John Hopkins	32
Rhode Island	*Providence*	Saml. Tomkins	28
Connecticut	*Trumbull*		28
New York	*Congress*	Chris. Miller	28
Do.	*Montgomery*		24
Pennsylvania	*Washington*	Thos. Read	32
Do.	*Randolph*	Nichs. Biddle	32
Do.	*Effingham*	John Barry	28
Do.	*Delaware*	Chas. Alexander	24
Maryland	*Virginia*	Jas. Nicholson	28

PHILADELPHIA, 16 June 1776 Sunday.

DEAR SIR, — I am Reduc'd to the last moment, and even keep the Express to write this, that I have only time to inform you that I yesterday dispatch'd a Waggon with Money for my Brother who is appointed Dep[ut]y Paymaster Gen[era]l in the Eastern Department,[40] under the Care of my Mr. Spriggs, and by the same Conveyance I forwarded a Box directed to you containing 20,000 Dollars for the Ships, which he will Deliver you, he will show you his written Directions; he will also deliver you a Box of Money directed for New Hampshire which the Delegates of that Colony request you will forward with the Inclos'd Letter. I shall write you fully by the next Post, and also to Capt. Bradford. I shall send all the Warrants to your Sea officers, etc. I want the Recommendations for the Marine Officers, etc. Next Monday Evening the Marine Board will perfect the most of the matters relative to the Ships, when you shall have the necessary Directions I shall send you an order for what Provisions you may want to be taken from the Commissary's Store.

Your several favors to 6th June I have Receiv'd, the last Inclosing my Commission as Major General, I beg you will make my Acknowledgments to the Gentlemen for the honour they have done me and assure them I will Endeavour to answer their Expectations.

In my last I Sent you a List of the Captains with the Names of the Ships as far as we had then proceeded, since which the following Appointments have been made, Vizt.

[40] Elected unanimously, June 12, 1776.

ISRAEL TURNER	1st. Lieut't	For the Ship *Hancock* Commanded by Capt. Manly.
JOSEPH DOBLE	2d do.	
MARK DENNITT	3d do.	
HECTOR MCNEIL	Captain	For the Ship *Boston*
JOHN BROWN	1st. Lieut.	

THOMAS GRENELL to the Command of the Frigate *Montgomery* at N. York.

You will please to send me a Rec[eipt] for the Money. Do Send me the Names of the other Lieut[enant]s.

McNeil and Brown are both here and will proceed down to you in a day or two.

Dr. Sir, I must beg of you in your own way to impress the Assembly with the importance of Answering Letters from Congress. We are in the Dark whether matters are Carried into Execution, pray let us hear constantly.

If you can propose any thing that I can serve young Mr. Avery in, I will with much pleasure endeavour to answer his and your wish.

I am exceedingly hurried. Remember me to all Friends. I am very truly, Dear Sir, your faithfull friend and Servt.

I have inclos'd in my Letter to the Assembly a Resolve, which I beg may be inserted in all the News papers immediately.

One Frederick Beck who guards the Money will have some demand, either you pay or I. I kept him here a few days.

We have wrote to the Assembly to order us some Money, be so good as to attend to it, and let us have some soon.

Mr. Gill I find prints a News paper,[41] please to ask him to Enter me for a paper, and to send it me regularly here every week.

To WILLIAM COOPER

PHILADA., 6 July, 1776

MY DEAR SIR, — Could you exactly know my particular Scituation, and how much of the Day and Night I devote to the Execution of publick Business, I am Confident you and my Friends would readily excuse my not writing. I am really so greatly Engag'd, and Business fast increasing in my Department that I have not a moment

[41] Benjamin Edes and John Gill had published the *Boston Gazette* since April, 1755, and dissolved partnership April, 1775. About a year later, May 30, 1776, Gill issued the first number of the *Continental Journal*.

to myself, My Friendship, however, is as strong, my Zeal as great, and my Reliance, under God, that my Country will be Sav'd as firm as ever. I hope we shall be a free and happy people, totally unfetter'd, and Releas'd from the Bonds of Slavery, That we may be thus free, Congress have done, and will still do, more, to promote it. Inclos'd you have the Declaration of Independence, to which Refer you. I write the Assembly, and it is the wish of Congress the Declaration may be proclaim'd in the *State* of Massachusetts Bay.[42]

I can't add, pray have me Remembred in strong terms of Affection to your worthy Brother the Doctor [43] and present him with one of the Inclos'd.

Remember me to all my Friends. The Revd. Mr. Whitney [44] is at my house and has gone through the Small Pox by Inoculation very finely. Miss Katy Quincy [45] is also here. She has been Inoculated, and has it exceeding full, but is upon the Recovery, she will have enough to Convince her Friends she will not Take it again.

Two Days ago a Brig[antine][46] of ours with Powder and Arms arriv'd off these Capes and was Chac'd by a Man-of-war, they Ran her on shore at Egg harbour, and our people began unloading her, and after Taking out some Arms and 250 half Barrs. Powder they discover'd a Number of Boats full of Men from the Ships of war approaching them. Our People finding it necessary to quit the Vessell, and determining she should not fall into the Enemy's hands, laid a long train whereby to Blow her up; the Men from the Boats boarded her, gave three Cheers, and immediately the Ship Blew up, and Destroy'd in a moment 50 or 60 of the Man-of-war's men and sent them to —— Heaven, I hope. the Man-of-war for want of hands eno' to do mischief was oblig'd to go in pursuit of more; thus they see it is Dangerous to be too meddling in other Men's affairs, they had better quit, but if they will be so foolish they must abide the Consequence.

Mrs. Hancock, who is in a *tolerable good way,* Joins me in best Compliments to Mrs. Cooper,[47] Miss Judith [48] and all your Connec-

[42] The Declaration reached Boston Saturday, July 13, and was read by Dr. Cooper on the afternoon of August 11, "attended to by the Auditory with great solemnity and satisfaction." *Warren-Adams Letters,* I. 261, 268.

[43] Samuel Cooper (1725–1783), of the Brattle Street Church.

[44] Peter Whitney (1744–1816), of Northborough.

[45] Sister of Mrs. Hancock.

[46] The *Nancy,* Captain Montgomery, from St. Croix and St. Thomas, with powder on Congress account. Force, *American Archives,* 5th Ser., I. 14.

[47] Catharine (1726–1796), daughter of Jacob and Sarah (Oliver) Wendell.

[48] Judith Cooper (1754–1782), married Captain Matthew Parke (1746–1813).

tions. My good wishes attend Mr. Oliver Wendell and Lady,[49] in short I wish to be Remembred to every Friend.

I write in great haste, do let me hear from you. I wish you happy and am your Real Friend and hum. sert.

To THOMAS CUSHING

PHILADELPHIA, 30th July, 1776

DEAR SIR, — I Rec'd your Letter by the last Post; The Business of my Department increases so much that I cannot think of Continuing to Act in the Marine Committee,[50] but before I quit it I should wish to Close my Cash Accounts and to leave every thing as clear as possible, I must therefore desire you will immediately forward me your Account of the Money Receiv'd, and the Expenditure. I mean not now to go to Particulars, but the general State of the Accounts that I may Close the Money Concerns with the Committee and deliver the papers to my Successor in that Department. this I wish to have done as soon as possible, for I have Determin'd to move my Family to Boston the Beginning of September, and propose being there my self in all that Month. You will order the two Frigates to be got ready for the Sea, I mean to be furnish'd with every necessary that is to be had with you, Cannon are Casting but when we shall have a sufficiency I know not. I have Sent the Commissary General an order for the Delivery of what Provisions are necessary for the Frigates, and I shall by next Post send you the same order to Receive them of the Deputy Commissary in our Colony. I cannot furnish the Captains of the Frigates with their Commissions yet, Congress having Resolved that no Commissions issue untill the Rank of the thirteen Captains is Settled, I intend to morrow to move in Congress that Settlement, and then will forward their Commissions and every thing relative to the Ships.

I inclose you a News paper to which Refer you for every thing stirring here. What are you all doing? We seldom hear any thing from our Colony, I could wish you would write some particulars of Matters with you. I Remember about Six Months ago I Requested you to send me Copies of some Letters, that is not yet done, but it's no matter now, I shall be with you in September I hope.

[49] Oliver Wendell (1733–1818), a brother of Mrs. Cooper, married Mary Jackson.

[50] He was still on the Committee in October, when Bartlett wrote to Langdon: "I sincerely wish he did not belong to the Marine Committee but would confine himself to the affairs of Congress which is business abundantly sufficient to employ the time of any one human being." Burnett, *Letters*, II. 117.

Remember to all such as are Real Friends; Compliments to your Family. I am your very hum. servt.

No Recommendation of Officers of the Marine Companies, I will have some appointed soon, you certainly forget.

PHILADELPHIA, 24th Octor., 1776

DEAR SIR, — Our incessant Attention to the Affairs of the Northern Army and Genl. Washington's (and my Duty you know) with my present Engagedness to that Service prevents my writing more, than just to Inclose you the Resolve of Congress respecting the other Frigate,[1] which you will Exert your self to Compleat as soon as possible. Pray lay it before the Assembly, and Apologize to them for my not writing them by this, but will by the Express which I shall Dispatch in forty-eight hours with Manley's Instructions [2] and your Money and the other Commissions. The Warrants you have Inclos'd, what you do not use you will keep for future purposes. The Inclos'd Letters please to Seal and Deliver. The Inclos'd Commissions please to forward; the Commissions for the Lieutenants, etc. will go by the Express. I was loth to Detain Capt. Manley. You will set him about getting the Men and let the Captains of Marines fill their Companies. their Commissions will go by the Express; I shall send them all in blank for you to fill up, I am almost worn out, my Duty is Constant, I have hardly time for necessary Rest. Manly is second officer on the List; The Numbers determine the Rank. Can I do any thing agreeable for you, let me know and I will not be wanting. I must Close, God bless you, I am yours sincerely.

11 o Clock Night.

PHILADA., 3d Novr., 1776

DEAR SIR, — By Capt. Manly I sent you the Warrants for the Officers. I now Inclose you the Commissions for the Officers of the Ships and of Marines. I have not fill'd in the Names, you will therefore please to fill in the Names of such as have been already Appointed, but in case they Decline you will fill them with such as you and the Captains and Mr. Agent Bradford shall Judge proper, as it will not answer to Delay. You will send me a List of all the Officers to these Ships as soon as compleat.

Inclos'd are Capt. Manly's orders open for your perusal, do hurry

[1] This may refer to the *Hancock Journals* (Ford), VI. 882.

[2] Printed in *Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee*, I. 42.

them on as fast as possible. Inclos'd you have some new regulations respecting Prizes.[3] The Inclos'd Letters please to order to be Deliver'd. You will Remember that Mr. Palmer, Brown, Thompson, etc. have been Appointed. The Money will come as soon as it is safe for an Express to Travel with it, which I hope will be in a day or two, we are now at a very critical moment, God grant us Success.

I Beg you will please immediately on Receipt of this to Inform our Honorable Assembly that the Dispatches they sent by Dod the Express[4] were all Stole from him at Bristol last Tuesday twenty miles from this City, he had also Dispatches from Genl. Washington, all which are no Doubt by this time in the possession of Genl. How, we are very uneasy to know the Contents of the Dispatches from the Assembly, the Express says he had a large Packet from them, he cannot well Account for the Loss of them, he is in Confinement, the original Express was taken sick, at Hartford and sent his Brother on, I Intreat you to Request the Assembly to order Copies of their Dispatches immediately to be forwarded, as it will be a great Relief to Congress to receive early Advice. Do Apologize to the Assembly for my not writing them by this, it is now late at Night and tho' Sunday, I have been the whole Day busily employ'd at my Pen. This goes by a Connecticutt Gentleman who promises to forward it to you.

I will send your Money the first Opening, when I shall write you fully.

If any thing else be needful for the Ships, let me know by Express, if no other way, but I think I have sent you every thing necessary.

Adieu. God Bless you. I am very truly your Obedt. sert.

THOMAS ASPINWALL TO DANIEL WEBSTER [5]

LONDON, 24 March, 1848

MY DEAR SIR, — I have this morning seen an intelligent friend just from Paris, who says that the spirit of the people is moderate, reasonable, and as firmly opposed to anarchy as to the return of the Bourbons. He denounces the strictures of the *Times* newspaper as false in regard to the sinister influence of the French clubs. He listened with delight, he says, to many harangues of workmen that would have done honor to the most enlightened legislative body. He considers the London *Sun* and *Daily News* as the best for correct information and reasonable views of the Revolution in progress.

[3] *Journals* (Ford), VI. 882, 885.

[4] William Dod, who gave the despatches to Timothy Dod. The latter was kept confined until December 12, when he was discharged. See *Writings of Washington* (Ford), V. 25.

[5] From the French collection in the Society.

You will learn from the newspapers that both Austria and Prussia have promised a free press, jury trials, representative chambers having a control of the public purse and taxes, and a militia system. The King of Prussia has already set the press free, and declared his intention of leading the popular movement throughout Germany; where the people are, at all places, in the ascendant.

The Emperor of Russia has called up the contingent reserves of the army in order to be prepared to protect his dominions in case of aggression from countries where anarchy and confusion are prevailing. It is hardly possible that a struggle should not take place in Poland and for Polish emancipation, unless it become superfluous, in consequence of a successful revolution in Russia itself. It has often been said that at last the Exiles of Siberia were likely to get up a formidable combination against the despotic institutions of Russia; and it is also probable, that even the sleepless vigilance of the Russian police has not been able to exclude all the contagion of popular principles and popular struggles. There is poison enough to be absorbed from Poland alone to gangrene to the whole empire to which she is annexed.

Even in France and Germany no one suspected until the event happened, that the public mind was every where so ardently longing for reform and so accurate and uniform in its definition of its wants, that unarmed crowds could disperse or even win over whole battalions, and that Kings and Emperors should in one day be brought to the alternative of exile or compliance with the demands of their subjects.

The financial and commercial crisis in France is almost unparalleled. It also affects other countries. The Bank of Belgium has followed the example of the Bank of France in suspending specie payments, so far, as to all notes above 100 francs = $20. Their issues of notes are also allowed to be increased to more than double the present amounts issued. In other respects Belgium as well as Holland appears to be very little changed by the neighbouring revolution. In Paris my friend paid twelve per cent in exchanging his French bank-notes for silver. He would have had to pay more for gold. His banker, one of the few who have not failed, begged he would not press him for his balance of 2000 frs. and only consented to pay it upon being assured that, when his debts were satisfied, he should have only 500 frs. left to defray the travelling expenses of his family to England. The newspapers make great complaints that English workmen have been driven out of France, but the Irish say that is the way the English treat the Irish in England. Young Ireland has been endeavoring to get up monster meetings and has also been talking sedition. In consequence of this

Smith O'Brien, a conspicuous M.P., Mr. Mitchell, the Editor of the *Nation,* and a Mr. Meagher have been arrested and held to bail. But hitherto all is quiet in Ireland.

The funds have risen here to 83, because the popular success in Germany lessens the danger of a conspiracy of crowned heads. Yours, ever most truly,

T. ASPINWALL.

[Note, in another hand:] Suppress the name.

WILLIAM ALLEN BUTLER TO GEORGE BANCROFT

NEW YORK, June 10, 1848

MY DEAR SIR, — I send you a paper with my Father's speech at our great " Barnburning " meeting in the Park, on Tuesday last. It goes over most of the grounds of separation from the Baltimore Convention and nominees. How far you will agree with him I don't know. Perhaps you should be congratulated at being so far off at such an uncomfortable crisis, in which for northern men, whatever side they take, there is so much to lose, and so little to gain. But you will see that the opposition, in this State, on the part of Mr. Van Buren's and Mr. Wright's friends, to the Cass ticket, is of a sort not to be compromised or adjusted; there is no more impossible supposition than that of a reconciliation. Before the proceedings at Baltimore it would have been exceedingly difficult to have produced anything like harmony in this State; but after them, perfectly impracticable. The fight is begun with the most fatal, Buena Vista sort of spirit. On Tuesday we had the meeting, I spoke of, in the Park — very large, very satisfactory, and rather alarming than otherwise to the Old Hunkers. A day or two after came along Candidate Cass himself with such a cortège as no presidential aspirant ever brought to this City, before, of which the head and front was Col. Benton. With such attractive speakers advertised as Allen, Hannegan, Benton, Houston, etc., no wonder that the Ratification meeting at Tammany should have been an immense one. This was last evening. To add to all this antagonistic excitement, the news of Taylor's nomination arrived yesterday, producing a great sensation. Taken all together it is a most extraordinary state of things. Genl. Cass told my Father yesterday in an interview which they had on the score of their old association, and present friendship (quite unbroken, I believe, in spite of political variances) that he considered Taylor's nomination a weak one, and that it was what he and his friends had hoped for. But this is a great

mistake on their part. I look at it in this way: the same influences which led to Taylor's *nomination,* must inevitably lead to his *election.* He is the only man living who could have got the nomination of the Whig Convention, without promises, pledges and stipulations, not to say direct bargaining. I remember the first movements here in N—York in favor of Taylor after the battles of Palo Alto and Reseca de la Palma, and the derision they created; precisely the same causes that have been at work since then shaping public opinion in his favor, and raising him over the heads of the leaders both of the Administration and the Opposition, and securing him the nomination, will make him President. In the meantime those who, like myself, for example, cannot support an irregular ticket like that of the Baltimore Convention, from any share in the nomination of which New York was purposely excluded; and who yet cannot under any circumstances vote for a Whig nominee, require a candidate. Not only in New York, but in most of the Northern States, this is the feeling of a large, very large class. The first necessity of this class is the defeat of Cass. Consequently a considerable portion will vote directly for Taylor, on the ground of his no-party professions and generally conceded honesty; but the fact of his owning 300 slaves, and the strong probability that he will unite the South in his support on the platform of the "peculiar domestic institution," damages him at the North, and especially in New England, without helping the other ticket. Cass in his efforts to conciliate both parties has not gone far enough for either. It would be a joke if he should lose New Hampshire and fail of getting Alabama. The third ticket which we talk of nominating at Utica on the 22d, together with the enthusiasm for Taylor, leaves the Cass chances at the minimum point. The calculations at Baltimore were all made, leaving New York out of the question; in the first flash of success the friends of the nomination thought they could get on without the thirty-six who are usually deemed necessary to a choice; for my part I think it would be a great pity to disappoint their expectations.

I am afraid you will look with a good deal of suspicion on my prognostics; doubtless an old Hunker would tell you a very different story; but I am by no means *ultra* or radical in my way of looking at these movements or in my Barnburning sympathies. I have seen a letter from Mr. Van Buren in which he expresses himself as to the nomination, and the position the Democracy of this State should take, in a way to satisfy the strongest Barnburner. I am still willing to be on the same side with him. I think he is on the same side he has always been. One thing is necessary in looking at our present position. It is to be separated entirely from the

State Convention difficulties that we had the results of when I was in London, and in which John Van Buren was the prime mover. He mixes up his Albany prejudices and quarrels in the present contest, fights this battle with the same sword; but it is a very different struggle. Those who will be most earnest in it, had no sort of connexion with the other.

But I expect I have tired you out; very likely you have fuller and better information than I can give, from other sources; but I thought that perhaps you would like to hear something from the quarter I am most conversant in. When you come home you will find great change in the way of political relations and associations. Benton, for example, I have always had held up to me as a model of consistency, or at least of uncorruptible firmness. Dix, too, in whom we all had great confidence resorts to evasion and non-committalism, a course calculated to ruin him, with a small faction somebody may say, but still with his best friends, and after all the only ones who can do him any real good.

My best regards to Mrs. Bancroft who I hope is very well. I wrote a few weeks ago to, and am hoping to hear in reply from her. If you can find time to write I should be delighted to hear from you. You are happily removed from our squabbles. Please remember me to Mr. Brodhead. Very truly yours,

WM ALLEN BUTLER.

My Father has come in from Court and wishes me to send you his love.

INSTITUTE
OF

FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 10, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair. The record of the January meeting was read and approved. The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. McPherson Le Moyne, a list of polls and estates in Massachusetts, 1784; a Massachusetts tax warrant to the Town of Grafton, 1761; two volumes in manuscript on the Sandwich Islands; and a copy by William T. Brigham, 1879, of the Laws of Harvard College, from a copy by Dr. Cotton Tufts in 1745.

From the Edward W. Kinsley Post, 113, Grand Army of the Republic, its manuscript records, also volumes, maps, photographs, engravings relating to the Civil War and to members of the Post, as well as some Confederate States money and a silver cup given to the Post by the Lafayette Post, 140, New York, in 1904.

From Mrs. Frederick T. (Harriet J. White) Bradbury, papers, photographs and other valuable material of her brother, the late George Robert White, to constitute a perpetual memorial to him.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Mrs. Paul Revere Frothingham, a silver vase which Rev. Theodore Parker, bequeathed in 1860 to Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham, and by him in turn was bequeathed in 1896 to Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham.

From Henry W. Cunningham, a photograph of Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham.

From Mrs. McPherson Le Moyne, two photographic views in the Sandwich Islands, and two early views in Copley Square, Boston.

From Grenville H. Norcross an engraving of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and the Dauphin, 1793.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff, of New Haven, accepting Honorary Membership, and from Kenneth Ballard Murdock accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

Professor Josef Redlich, of Austria, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, and Professor Arthur Meier Schlesinger, of Cambridge, a Resident Member.

JAMES FORD RHODES

The PRESIDENT announced the death of Mr. Rhodes and called upon Mr. LOWELL, who said:

Our associate James Ford Rhodes was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on the first day of May, 1848, his father being Daniel Pomeroy Rhodes and his mother's maiden name Sophia Lord. His education began in the schools of his native town, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that in boyhood, while the Civil War was raging, if not even earlier, he formed an ambition to write a history of the anti-slavery conflict. There have been other cases of childhood's dream of achievement being carried out in later life, but none that has been held more consistently or with more complete success. It shed over his whole career a glow of romance of which he was far less conscious than were his friends.

At the age of seventeen he went as a special student to the University of the City of New York where he spent the year 1865–66, the next year being passed in the University of Chicago. In these institutions his principal studies are said to have been history, literature, rhetoric and philosophy, a choice that indicates the persistence of the ambition of his boyhood; as does also the fact that he visited the South soon after the close of the war. In 1867 he was sent to Europe by his father — a coal and iron merchant in Cleveland — to observe the production of those minerals in England, Wales and Germany, and he took advantage of the opportunity to follow a course on metallurgy at Berlin. In fact he told me that his knowledge of chemistry had been a decided help to him in the iron business; but it is of more interest to us here that in his first year abroad he attended lectures at the Collège de France, and that he was a correspondent of the *Chicago Times*.

Although the aspiration of youth had not faded, he determined to make himself independent before taking up the life

of a historian; and on his return home in 1869 he entered the business of his father, the other partners being his brother Robert, and his brother-in-law, Mark Hanna. Not long after this he was fortunate in his marriage on January 4, 1872, to Ann Card, also of Cleveland. He was fortunate also in business, for the firm prospered, and by 1886, having acquired an ample property, he retired to carry out his long cherished plan.

It was at this time that I first came into contact with him, quite unconsciously at the moment. Woodrow Wilson's earliest book — that on *Congressional Government* — had just appeared, and Mr. Rhodes and I wrote articles on the subject which we both sent to the *Atlantic Monthly*. This I learned from him many years later when we had become intimate.

On giving up his business he went abroad for more than a year. Returning to Cleveland, he translated a French novel for the practice in writing, and then wrote the first two volumes of his great *History of the United States from the Compromise of* 1850. But before printing them he came to Cambridge, doing his work in the Harvard Library. The two volumes were published in 1893, and won an immediate recognition which increased with each succeeding volume. The year that they appeared he was elected to this Society and received a doctorate of laws from Western Reserve, the university of his native city. In 1901 the same degree was conferred by Harvard, and the Berlin Academy of Sciences awarded him the Loubat Prize. Three years after the seventh and last volume of the history was published he was given a degree of doctor of letters at Oxford. These were among the honors showered upon him.

After publishing the first two volumes of his history he again went abroad and stayed a year and a half. On his return he took up his residence in Boston, doing his research thereafter mainly in the Athenæum. He told me once that a reason for his coming here was the presence of Francis A. Walker and John C. Ropes, both authorities on the military history of the Civil War. His companionship with them was unfortunately brief, for the former died in 1897, the latter in 1899. But his social, genial temperament, the pleasure of his

conversation — for he could both talk and listen — rapidly made him many friends, whose affection ever grew with time.

The ambition of his youth had been fulfilled in 1906, when the seventh volume of the history carried the reader to the year 1877 and the abandonment by President Hayes of the policy of Reconstruction. But until his health began to fail he continued to study and to write. He published his *Historical Essays* in 1909, his Oxford *Lectures on the American Civil War* in 1913, a short history of the war in 1917, and then carried his former history of the country from the administration of Hayes through that of Roosevelt.

Of the technical merits of his historical work it is for historians to speak. But everyone sees the supreme judicial character of his mind, his absence of prejudice, his transparent fairness, his determination to know the facts thoroughly ere he formed a judgment. Before he reached in writing his history the period of Reconstruction he told me that he thought he should come to the opinion that the treatment of the South had been wrong, showing that he approached the question with an open mind. So strong was the confidence in his impartiality that Mrs. Paul Thorndike — General Sherman's daughter — said to me, that she should be satisfied with Mr. Rhodes' judgment of her father's conduct of the March to the Sea, whatever it might be. He was a living refutation of the saying that dispassionate historians are uninteresting, for his volumes were universally read as they came out.

Personally he was a most charming companion, and a perfect host; kind and sympathetic, and withal extremely modest in the expression of his views. His opinions on contemporary matters were marked by the same judicial quality that characterized his history. In his life, as in his writings, there were many people he liked and admired, with few, if any, that he disliked. In many conversations I do not recall a single harsh or unkind comment on others. He had many friends because he cared for them, and made no enemies because he knew no rancor. His was a happy life, which started with a desire to write a great book and saw it abundantly fulfilled; a life of strenuous and successful work, carried through serenely, with ample powers for a large task completely accomplished; a life

encompassed by the affection and respect of friends in a community that he entered after middle age.

Mr. GRANT then read as follows:

The historians Edward Gibbon and James Ford Rhodes had one experience in common. Each contemplated his great undertaking from afar, but it was not until close to middle life that either settled down to it. The opening volume of *The Decline and Fall* appeared in 1776 when its author was thirty-nine, and Rhodes was forty-five before the publication of the first of the volumes of his monumental *History of the United States from the Compromise of* 1850. But though Gibbon contemplated his "at an awful distance," the early years of his manhood after — to use his own words — his "childish revolt against the religion of his country had delivered him forever from the port and prejudice of the University" (meaning Oxford) "and led him into the highest paths of philosophic freedom," were passed in omnivorous reading, literary experimentation and travel. In the case of Mr. Rhodes the cherished purpose was kept in abeyance until successful attention in Cleveland, Ohio, to the coal business had enabled him to lay by a competency. In the latest edition of *Who's Who* there is no reference to the business association which provided him with this, but it is authentic that long after he became famous an industrial magnate, then commorant on the North Shore, remarked regretfully when his name was mentioned: "I knew Mr. Rhodes very well in the old days. He was highly thought of. What a pity he dropped out, for he would have made his reputation."

Leaving Cleveland in order to secure comparative seclusion and access to libraries, Rhodes came first to Cambridge and presently to Boston. Here under the spell of his exacting task he prepared volume after volume between 1893 and 1906 until there were seven. Like Gibbon, too, with the appearance of the first he awoke to find himself famous. He became the recipient of many academic honors and of unstinted praise from scholars in this country and abroad. The fairness and sound but penetrating judgment which marked his graphic and always readable survey of national affairs and personages dur-

ing the eventful formative period of our Republic arrested wide and admiring attention. Almost immediately his work became authoritative, then standard. With scarcely a pause he applied himself to continuing the national story from Hayes to McKinley and later from McKinley through the second administration of Roosevelt. Here he had always intended to stop. But his great admiration for Theodore Roosevelt might have tempted him to go on in spite of the *caveat* that an historian should not live too near to the age that he seeks to reproduce, but for his distress at the manifesto favoring the recall of judicial decisions.

I am not the one, nor is this the moment, to weigh more nicely his historical renown. It was my good fortune to know him well during the more than quarter of a century after he moved from Cambridge to Boston. I like to bear witness to the constantly refreshing charm of his personality, with which most of you are so familiar. Was there ever anyone more honest and straightforward in his mental processes, more free from affectation or pretence? The genial, but ever forceful, presence which he brought from the west was like an invigorating breeze. For his opinions, void of the subjective involutions and convolutions apt to impede spontaneity in this locality, went straight to the point and carried their own meaning. Nor did they suffer from his big, far-reaching voice, surcharged with friendliness. Yet how fundamentally modest and unassertive he was. It was his wont — almost an idiosyncrasy — to betray deliberately his ignorance on subjects with which he was unfamiliar. How often have I heard him say when this or that topic was broached, "I don't know anything about that" — a trait almost unprecedented among the educationally elect of this vicinity. Historian though he was, he almost plumed himself on his inability to prophesy or to forecast the future. Yet his knowledge covered a wide range; his lively comments on life were apt to be illuminating as well as just, and though his interests were both social and intellectual, he never tried to reform anybody. At his best and ordinarily he was a delightful companion.

Within the somewhat restricted limit of his daily occupations, Mr. Rhodes was a familiar and ever welcome figure. He took no part in public affairs, but was a frequenter of learned

bodies and a friend of many men of scholarly achievement in this country and Europe.

He was devoted to the interests of this Society, the Boston Athenæum and the American Academy of Arts and Letters. His instinct for hospitality aided by his popularity made his house, 392 Beacon Street, replaced now by an apartment house, one of the most agreeable of our day. At his table or in his spacious library lined with books and looking out on Charles River one met not only his friends of both sexes but leaders in politics and distinguished scholars of the United States and Europe.

His summers, except for an occasional sojourn abroad, were spent at Seal Harbor, within easy distance of President Eliot with whom he was long intimate. It was rare that new acquaintances did not take to him at once. One of these, no less than John S. Sargent, evidently did so, for it is worth mentioning that one of the most satisfactory, if not the most so, of all his portraits in black and white is that of Mr. Rhodes. It brings out all his intelligence and benignity and wears a suspicion of the charming smile we know so well.

The World War had a most depressing effect on Rhodes. It was his belief that the civilization of Europe was at an end. One day in 1916 he said to me, "I read some lines in a New York paper yesterday with which I heartily agree, but don't know who wrote them." Next day I received the following note:

My philosophy is thus summed up:

> There is the moral of all human tales;
> 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
> First Freedom, and then Glory — when that fails,
> Wealth, vice, corruption, — barbarism at last.
> And History, with all her volumes vast,
> Hath but *one* page, . . .

Barrett Wendell and Brooks Adams saw this years ago. Thank Heaven my eyes are opened at last — only indeed I wish they were not and that I could think this a holy war. Very truly yours

J. F. R.

I answered by return of post. "I am surprised that so sane and well balanced a man as you should be upset by a stanza

of Lord Byron's and the animadversions of two such deliberate pessimists as our friends Barrett Wendell and Brooks Adams."

I doubt, however, if he ever changed his opinion. Possibly an increasing lack of vitality contributed to this attitude, so unlike that of his former self. Yet I remember him in the summer of 1922 on the sunny terrace of his hotel at Chamounix, a little frail in appearance, but with all his old time mellowness. During the last two years before he died illness had disenchanted him with life, but those of us to whom he endeared himself — and they are many — remember him with deep and admiring affection as one of the most eminent and lovable men of his time.

Mr. MORSE also spoke, but reserves his remarks.

JOHN ADAMS AIKEN

The PRESIDENT then announced the death of John A. Aiken and called upon General SCHAFF, who read the following:

Judge John Adams Aiken, for seventeen years Chief Justice of the Superior Court of this his native state, was born in Greenfield, September 16, 1850. His father, Judge David Aiken, was for a long time Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and one of the foremost men of the upper Connecticut Valley, famous for its quiet beauty, and men of force and character in the social and civic life of the state. His son, the Judge, passed his youth in the public schools of Greenfield, and from an environment of independent thinking that never knew luxury, arrogance or subserviency, went to Phillips Academy and from there to Dartmouth, graduating in 1874. Then, after taking a course at Harvard Law School, he began his career as a lawyer in his father's office.

Moved by an interest that never seems to have lost its hold in all that bore on the everyday life of his native village and rolling surrounding farms, he became the Secretary of the County Agricultural Society, thereby acquiring a taste which found expression in a garden that made his estate famous, and is a living, blooming token of his love of nature and natural refinement.

Meanwhile, so marked were his abilities and so uniform his bearing and courtesy to old and young, high and low, that he was nominated by his fellow Democrats for District Attorney of Franklin and Hampshire Counties, and although the district was strongly Republican, was elected and re-elected, serving for six years.

In filling this office he was naturally courteous to the bench, the bar and all who had business at the court, insisting temperately but firmly that justice should take its course without harshness or weakness, thereby throwing an atmosphere about the tribunal that took away its traditional awe and dread, winning for it the goodwill and respect of the people.

In 1887 he was appointed by Governor Wolcott a Judge of the Superior Court; and in 1905 by Governor Douglas, on the death of Chief Justice Mason, he was promoted to the Chief Justiceship of that Court. From then, till his resignation on account of illness, he filled that position with conspicuous credit to the Commonwealth and to the warm satisfaction of the bar, and the corps of Judges over which he presided; in fact he won the attachment of all of them, and made the life of a Superior Judge as easy as its somewhat dull and always laborious duties will allow.

Meantime he never lost his interest or identity with his home life in Greenfield. He was president or member of all municipal committees and associations that affected schools, library and betterment of the village, and was one of the founders of the Greenfield Historical Society.

There is one thing he did in this connection that has more than a local interest, as will appear I think, and is entitled to mention. The Mohawk Indians, while they had their main seat on the river of that name, yet they claimed as their own and hunted over all the territory between the Hudson and the Connecticut Rivers. For years and years before the settlement of the country their parties for war and peace had followed the same path over the Hoosac Mountains and down the Deerfield River valley to the Connecticut at Greenfield. This path, by the way, was followed in part by the detachment of French and Indians from Montreal that committed the famous Deerfield massacre in the year 1704. The western location of this trail on its way through Williamstown was identified,

written about and interestingly talked about on many an occasion by Professor Arthur Latham Perry of Williams, the father of our distinguished fellow-member, Bliss Perry.

Now Judge Aiken, on his vacations from court duties, traced this trail up through the primeval woods and over the Hoosac Mountains, and published a brochure of unusual merit and historic value, telling his difficulties in rediscovering and following, after all the intervening years, its winding way. Later he issued and sent to close friends passports, delicate in humor, and original in design, over the trail, a copy of which I have brought with me. It throws light on the sort of man he was.

This trail is practically followed now by the state highway, known as the Mohawk Trail, traversed this year and every year by thousands of automobiles from all over the country, for its calm, wild beauty, its cool, deep wooded valleys, uplifting forest-clad hills and remote wavering sky lines.

Such is a bare outline of Judge Aiken's official life which, by an apathetic growing custom, is all that the occasion calls for. But, with all due respect for those who hold that history should confine itself to a cold statement of facts, and who grow fidgety and ready to frown on any show of feeling or sentiment, I venture to refer to what is more appealing to me than any mere record of public life, I mean personality; that about a man which gives to his official deeds either charm, indifference, or dislike.

Aiken was tall, with well-balanced figure. His face was florid and cast in a mould of high breeding, dignity and ever pleasing serenity. In a formal and large dinner party he was noticeably silent; but with a few, was attractively companionable, enjoying free-flowing talk and acknowledging any show of humor with a hearty spontaneous laugh.

His garden has been mentioned. In the corner of an adjacent building he had a room where his library of works on horticulture was stored, and on whose walls were pictures of the men who had become famous as producers of new flowers. In the middle of his garden he built a structure for the nesting home of swallows, and there they came, to his delight, almost to a day from year to year, and to go with him and see them was his invariable custom with his calling friends.

He made a collection of the flags of Provincial days, among

them that of Sir Edmund Andros, the flag of the Province of Massachusetts, the Old Colony Pine Tree flag, Paul Jones' rattlesnake flag "Don't Tread On Me," Moultrie's South Carolina flag, Maryland flag and one of the City of Baltimore which, whenever Mrs. Aiken, who was a Miss Maria Willard Dickinson of Maryland, had gone home to Baltimore on a visit, he ran up on his lofty flagstaff on the day of her return.

Finally in more than one respect, in tone, look, and bearing he was a suggestive counterpart of the Old Virginia gentleman and this, from the epitaph of one of them, Isham Randolph, who died in 1742 and is buried at Turkey Island in the James, I think may apply:

> The distinguished qualities of the Gentleman
> he possessed in an eminent degree.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> By an easy compliance and obliging deportment
> He knew no enemy but gained many friends, thus
> in his life meriting universal esteem.

The PRESIDENT also announced the death on January 30, at New Haven, Connecticut, of Hon. Simeon Eben Baldwin, a Corresponding Member of the Society since January 8, 1900, and added fitting remarks. Mr. STOREY also spoke on Judge Baldwin's abilities and career.

EARLY NEW ENGLANDERS IN CHANCERY

Colonel BANKS, in presenting transcripts of records in London archives, spoke on his experiences in the national archives of England, Holland and France, during a period of nearly four years since 1922, covering three separate trips. Previous American students engaging in general investigations on the origins of American history have confined themselves usually to ancestral problems, and the late Mr. Henry Fitzgilbert Waters of this Society, who spent ten years in England, devoted himself exclusively to the vast accumulation of probate records in Somerset House, London. His monumental work on the Washington, the Harvard and other ancestries has been

published and it was evident that his "Gleanings" had fully exhausted the possibilities of new discoveries in his special field of effort — East Anglia. With no paramount object in view beyond developing new and unexplored sources of information, the speaker chose the hitherto neglected records of the English courts, to test their richness in material bearing upon the early settlement of New England and the persons concerned in its colonization and planting. The English courts are separated into two great divisions — common law and equity. The latter are known as the Courts of Chancery and in these he spent much time with marked success. The Chancery Courts ranged in social and material importance and character from the great Court of Requests, established for the benefit of the submerged tenth, where the penniless yeoman could plead his cause *in forma pauperis* and have justice accorded him, to the famous and often termed infamous court of Star Chamber, to which the favorites at Court and the rich managed to have their suits assigned in order that they might be heard by judges friendly to wealth and power. The Chancery Proceedings, as they are known, have existed for five centuries and calendars of the earliest and some of the later reigns, naming plaintiffs and defendants, are available to the student. These cases are numberless — hundreds of thousands. The great Court of Requests remains uncalendared for the reigns of James and Charles, the years of interest to our early history. The Court of Star Chamber is calendared but not printed. In fact, the proceedings of the Star Chamber are non-existent after the reign of James I, as it had become such a scandal in the eyes of the people that its records during the reign of Charles I have disappeared, probably destroyed by design, to save what little reputation that monarch and his satellites had left at the time of the Civil War. It is from this court that the cases which comprise the subject of the paper were obtained and the "Early New Englanders in Chancery" were Rev. Stephen Bachiler, famous for his religious contentions in England and in New England, and Atherton Hough, of Boston, Lincolnshire, and Boston, Massachusetts. Their cases are typical of the suits which filled the proceedings of the Star Chamber. That Court seemed to specialize in slanders, assaults, breaches of promise, duels and alleged treasonable actions against the

King. In 1613 Stephen Bachiler and his son, then living in Wherwell, Hampshire, England, were sued by Rev. George Widley, a neighboring clergyman, for libel as the authors of two scurrilous poems which are given in full in the pleadings of the plaintiff and constitute an almost unique instance of the incorporation of verse in the legal formalism of the period. The drawing of a gallows in the text adds to the picturesqueness of the injured parson's story. The George Wythers of the record is the well-known George Wither, satirist and poet, a fellow collegian with Stephen Bachiler, junior. He lived in Hampshire, not far from the Bachilers. The following is a verbatim copy of this amusing suit: [1]

To the Kinges most Excellent Maiestie.

Humblye Complayning sheweth vnto your Ma[ies]tie your loyall, and obedyent Subiect George Wydley of Goodworth Clatford in the Countie of Sowthampton Clerke, That Whereas your Subiect by the space of Twentye yeares hath bynne a Graduate, That is to saie a Master of Artes in the Vniversitie of Oxford, Where for the space of many years hee did paynefullye studie Divinitie and Phisicke, And by the space of Twentie yeares hath bynne a Minister of God[es] most holie worde, And hath allsoe for many yeares last past professed and practised Phisicke and thereby hath Donne greate good vnto diuers of his Neighbours, and other p[er]sons, whereof some haue bynne of greate honour and good qualitie, And thereby hath allsoe gayned Vnto himself not onlie good esteeme and reputac[i]on, but allsoe very good p[ro]ffitte and meanes toward [es] his maintenance and liveliehoode; And Whereas there is noe one offence whatsoever that doth more iniuriously blemishe and traduce the good name and Creditte of your Ma'ties Subiect[es], especiallie men of such Calling and profession as your subiect is of, and whose reputac[i]on is most precious and Deere Vnto them; or that tendeth to the greater disturbance of your Highnes most happie and peaceable goverment, then the making and publishing of Infamous writings and sclaunderous writings; Yett soe itt is, may itt please your Ma'tie that Steephen Bacheler of Wherwell in the said County Clerke, Stephen Bacheler the younger his sonne on heeretofore Convicted of libelling, and for the same expulsed out of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, where hee had bynne sometymes a student, Thomas Owen of Goodworth Clatford aforesayd Clarke, and John Bates

[1] Star Chamber Proc. James 1, 297/25.

of Wherwell aforesaid Clerke, John Millett of Westover in the said Countie gent: Edward Wythers of Clatford in the said Countie yeoman, envying your Subiect[es] good and wellfare, hand maliciouslye, and without anie occasion given vnto them or either of them by your said Subiect, but of meere envie to see your subiect soe well to Conforme himselfe to the Laws and ordinaunces of the Church and of this your Highnes Realme of England Combyned, Conspired, and Complotted togeather amongest themselues (and)[2] togeather with Certaine other ill disposed p[er]sons as yett vnknowne, as well by malicious and false accusac[i]ons, by raysing of false and sclaunderous reportes, against your Subiect, and by Contriving and making Divers Infamous and sclaunderous libells against your subiect, by divulging and publishing of the same and by Divers other indirect and Vnlawfull meanes to blemishe and Disgrace your subiect, and that most especiallie in pointe of his function and profession, and thereby to make him seeme odious and hatefull to his Neighbours, Freind[es] Patient[es], and such as Vsed to resorte Vnto him for his advise and Councell, and to doe vnto him manie other intollerable abuses wronges and iniuries, For more Certaine p[ar]ticular and expresse declarac[i]on whereof, Soe itt is, may itt please your Ma'tie that aboute the Moneths of Maye, Iune, Iulie, and August last past in this the Eleaventh yeare of your Highnes Raigne of England, the said Steephen Bacheler the Elder, Steephen Bacheler the younger, and Thomas Owen, Did most vncharitablie and maliciouslye Devise, Contriue, make, frame indite and sett downe in writing two severall most slaunderous Libells, Rymes and writing[es] against your Subiect heereafter menc[i]oned, each of them Contayning most shamefull matter of reproche and infamie tending to disgrace and discreditte your subiect in his profession and Conversac[i]on, one of which Rymes, Libells or writinges was made in these word[es] heereafter following, videlict.,

Reioyce yow Prelates that to your side,
Converted is the man of pride,
Your argument[es] have made him yeilde,
stronge argument[es] have wonne the feilde,
Yett many wonder howe itt is,
that hee should nowe submitte to this,
A man of Courage stoute of hand[es],
A man that on his valour stand[es],
Beleiue you not? aske her that knowes,
his wife they said hath felte his blowes:

[2] Interlineated.

Rounde it out Drunkard[es], Chaunte it out stronge,
Bacchus cum Bacchus in our songe,
for hee thy steppes Doth Daylie pace,
and weares thy liuerye in his face.
Steppe forth yow brand Tobacconist[es]
heeres one shall enter in the listes,
whoe forth his nose canne Cast such mistes,
braue Captaine of all Formalist[es]
But if these mistes Could Dim[m]e mens eies,
he at a higher rate might them prise,
But o, it makes them stinke the more,
it hides not, but Dilates the sore.
None smell the smoke when as they quaffe it,
but knowe hee is in the middle of itt.
Oft haue I seene him praunce alonge,
His boun Companyons amonge.
And when hee is amonge those men,
O whoe but George on horsebacke then,
You entertaine a wilie Foxe,
that wantes noe skill to cure the P.
(*Sincope est ablatio litere vell sillabe in fine dictionis*).
His Phisicke is sure, yow may abide it,
some thinke hee on himselfe hath tride it,
Full well hee may in satten goe,
hee is a Sathan all men knowe,
And though in satten to goe hee seeme,
Yett god wott sathan is in him,
His Vellate with shame hee may doffe,
Diuellat, lett him plucke it off,
If hee doe not p[er]happes one day,
for ought I knowe the toppeman [3] maie.
In Crossing thus himselfe hee Crost,
nay more than that himselfe hee Curst,
And though hee thinkes the Crosse his friend,
the Crosse is like to worke his end.[4]
If this may better him I shalbe gladd
it cannot make him worse hee is so badd,
But if hee mende not then this staffe,
shalbee his future Epitaph,
Loe heere he lyeth, that loved Nan soe well
that for her sake heele goe to Hell.

And the other of the said Libells, Rymes, and slaunderous writinges made against your said Subiect by the said Confederates was made in these Rymes or wordes heereafter expressed,

[3] Altered from 'hangman.'
[4] At this point is drawn a gallows.

The Phisicke maker
the Tobacco taker,
the Common Craker,
marke what I saie,
for all his bragges,
and his money bagges,
May iette in ragges before Doomes Daie.

Conformed man
earst Puritan,
for the love of Nan,
Not Nan his wife,
with trickes vniust
Who maie one trust?
That leadeth such a life,

Stronge though hee bee,
stronge helpe will flee,
stronge hee or shee
will (not)[5] take place,
noe satten Case,
nor velvitt face
will then take place to blinde god[es] eies:

But tell him this,
to worke him blisse,
a rodde in pisse
doth lye in socke,
the fame will ringe,
reporte will singe,
The smarte will stinge, to see gods stroke,

Therefore repente,
therefore relent,
doe this I saie,
soe shalt thou misse,
the rodde in pisse,
God graunt yow maie:

But if hee shall
his god withstall,
to putt off all,
with mockes and iestes,
I le sett on every poste,
to the viewe of most

this Epitaph

Loe heere hee lies that loved his sinne soe well,
That liuing without remorse is dead and gone to Hell.

[5] Interlineated.

In and by which libells, and slaunderous Rymes before recyted and made by the said Steephen Bacheler the elder, Steephen Bacheler the younger and Thomas Owen, allthough your Subiect bee not expresselie named by his surname, Yett soe it is maye itt please your Maiestie that the said Stephen Bacheler the elder, Steephen Bacheler the younger, and Thomas Owen and the rest of theire said Confederates aswell in making of the said libells and Rymes as in publishing of the same, did thereby meane and pointe . . .[6] your said Subiect to bee the p[ar]tie vnto whom the Crymes and Reproches in the said Libells and Rymes menc[i]oned, ar thereby maliciouslie imputed, as by subsequent actes doth appeare. For whereas for the most p[ar]te [wher . .] .[7] Whosoeuer doth Com[m]ite anie other [offence][7] manner of offence hee doth vse all meanes to hide and Conceale the same, Yett soe itt is maie itt further please your Maiestie that these libellers Contrarilie taking delight in theire lewde and evill Doinges and boasting thereof and by publishing and Divulginge of [8] the libells before menconed, And by making, Contriving and bruting of other libells, slaunders, and false accusac[i]ons against your subiect seeke and indeavour amonge the Common sorte of people to gaine to themselves reputac[i]on of witte, praise, and glorie, and to bring your Subiect into vtter Disgrace and infamie amongest them. To which ende, intente and purpose they the said Steephen Bacheler the Elder, Steephen Bacheler the Younger, and Thomas Owen att severall tymes During the Moneths of Iune, Iulie, August and September last past in this the Eleventh yeare of your Highnes Raigne of England and Diuers other tymes Caused Divers Coppies of the said Rymes and libells to bee written out, and as well by reading, Repeating and [Sin]ging as by sheweing forth declaring and giuing of Coppies of the Libells and Rymes before mencyoned, and of Diuers other Rymes and Libells made against Your Subiect, haue most notoriouslie maliciouslie, and vnlawfullie published and Divulged the same vnto the said Iohn Bates, Iohn Millet, Edward Wythers, George Batt, Edward Weston, William Gervis, Roweland Hopgood, Henry Skeate (Iohn Osgood) [9] and to diuers other p[er]sons, and to Diuers of your sayd subiect[es] Freind[es] neighbours, Patient[es] an acquaintaunce, And att and vppon the reading, repeating, singinge, giuing of Coppies, and other publishing thereof they the said Steephen Bacheler the elder, Steephen Bacheler the younger, Thomas Owen, did affirme, and demonstrate that the same Rymes and Libells were made against your subiect, And that your Subiect was the partie vnto whome the Reproaches and Crymes mencyoned in the said

[6] Torn. [7] Deleted. [8] Interlineated. [9] Interlineated.

Rymes and Lybells were thereby imputed And did not onlie take greate Delight in the publishing thereof, but did allsoe very much boast and bragge of theire skillfull and wittie inventing Contriving, and Composing of the said Rymes and Libells. And the sayd Thomas Owen vppon the severall publicac[i]ons of the said Rymes and Libells, and vppon Conference therevppon hadd with others, did affirme and giue out that the Rymes first before menc[i]oned, and beginning, Reioyce you prelates etc was made by the said Steephen Bacheler the Younger, and that the other Rymes before likewise menc[i]oned, and beginninge, The Phisicke maker etc, were made by the sayd Steephen Bacheler the elder, and hee the said Owen therevppon further said, that the libell which the father had made, (thereby meaninge the said Steephen Bacheler the Elder was farre more wittie then that which the sonne made, (thereby meaning Steephen Bacheler the younger). And the said Iohn Bates hauing in his hand[es] and Custodie a Coppie of the said Rymes and libells, vppon the publishing and shewing fourth of the same, and vppon speech, and Conference therevppon hadd with others hee the said Iohn Bates sayd that hee would keepe the said Coppie of the said Rymes and Libells as a monument of his Cosens the said Steephen Bacheler the Younger his witte, whoe is in trueth his Cosen. And the said Steephen Bacheler the Elder, Steephen Bacheler the Younger and Thomas Owen tooke soe greate Delighte and pleasure in the said Rymes and Libells as that att one Maister Marrinells house in the Towne of Southampton, they the sayd Steephen Bacheler the elder, Steephin Bacheler the younger, and Thomas Owen caused a tune to be made, applied and sett to the said Libells and Rymes and there they caused the same to be tuned and sunge, with greate myrthe and pleasure amongest themselues, but with greate scorne and Derysion vnto your subiect, And they did Com[m]onlye recite, singe, and publishe the said Rymes and Libells in the howses of the said George Wythers and William Gervis, and did thereby lesson and teach the same vnto their Children and other boyes, and younge people there, and therein did soe p[er]fectlie instructe them as that the said boyes, and younge people Could and did Com[m]onlye sing the same by rote. And the said Steephen Bacheler the Younger did att severall tymes reade the said Rymes att the houses of one Edward Weston, and Robert Snosell att Wherwell aforesaid in the presence and hearing of Edward Weston, and George Batt (Iohn Osgood)[10] and Divers other p[er]sons, And itt being then questioned, whome the same did Concerne, and one of the hearers then present naminge or saying that itt did Concerne

[10] Interlineated.

your sayd Subiect, or that your said Subiect was the p[ar]tie against whome the same were made, hee the sayd Steephen Bacheler the Younger then Replyed and said that hee was a witch that hee could reade soe right, and vttered Divers other scornefull wordes to expresse and declare vnto the said p[er]sons then present that your said subiect was the p[ar]tie against whome the said Rymes and libells were made, and that the Crymes and Reproches therein specified were thereby imputed to your said subiect. And the said Steephen Bacheler the Elder did reade the said Rymes and libells to the sayd Henry Skeate, and vppon the readinge thereof vttered manie scornes and tauntes against your Subiect. And vppon all and everye the publications of the said libells and Rimes before menc[i]oned and att other times speech and mencion being made and moved of the said Rymes and Libells the said Steephen Bacheler the Elder, and Steephen Bacheler the Younger, Thomas Owen, Iohn Bates, Edward Wythers, (Iohn Osgood)[11] and Iohn Millet and the rest of theire said Confederates did Contynuallie name Your said Subiect, and pretend Your subiect to bee the verye partye against whome the same were made. And the said Iohn Millet, Iohn Bates, Edward Withers, (Iohn Osgood) [11] and Thomas Owen, and everie of them, vppon the severall Readinges, sheweinges, and publishing[es] of the said Rymes, and libells vnto them (as aforesaid) did not onelie approve, applaude, and reioyce att the same, but did allsoe gett into theire handes and Custodie divers Coppies thereof, and did repeate, deliuer over publishe and Divulge the same Vnto the said Henry Skeate Edward Weston, George Withers Robert Snosell (Iohn Osgood)[11] and Divers others of your Subiect[es] Countriemen, Freind[es], and acquaintaunce. Whereby the same is become verie notoriouslie divulged in the Countrey to your Subiect[es] extreame greate disgrace and Damage. All which false, malicious, and slaunderous libells, and Rimes before menc[i]oned haue bynne made and Contrived as aforesaid sithence your Maiesties last generall and most gracious free p[ar]donne, and all the said Conspiracies, Confederacies, false and malitious accusacions, slaunderous and infamous reportes, and other lewde practices against Your Subiect, and all the said publicac[i]ons of the said Rymes and Libells; and all and singular the misdemeanours abuses and offences before mencioned haue binne had made, done, and Com[m]itted by the said malefactors sythence your Maisties said generall p[ar]donne, And for as much as all manner of lybelling is against the Lawes and Statutes of this your Highnes Realme of England and is in his owne nature an offence verie heynous, and in example verie

[11] Interlineated.

daungerous, and tendeth to the greate disturbaunce of your Highenes peaceable government, and to the greate discouragement of Your Maiesties honest, good, and loyall Subiect[es], ande yett the same is in these latter tymes verie Commonlie practised by malicious, and lewde p[er]sons, and therefore needefull to bee repressed by some example of punishement. Maie itt therefore please Your Maiestie to graunte vnto your said subiect Your most gracious Writte of Subpena to bee awarded out of this Your Maiesties most Honourable Courte of Star chamber and to be directed vnto them the said Steephen Bacheler the elder, Steephen Bachelor the younger, Thomas Owen, Iohn Millet, Edward Withers, (Iohn Osgood)[12] and Iohn Bates and to the rest of theire malicious [C]onfederates as yett vnknowen, and whose names Your Subiect humblie prayeth may bee inserted into this (Bill)[12] as soone as they may bee knowen, thereby Com[m]aunding them and euerie of them att a Certaine Day and vnder a Certaine paine therein to bee limitted, p[er]sonallie to bee and appeare before your Maiestie, and your Highnes most honourable Counsell in your most high Cour[te of] Starrchamber then and there to Answere the premisses And further to stand to and abide such order and direction therein as to your Highnes and the same Courte shall seeme meete according to Ius[tice]. And your said Subiect accordinge to his most bounden Dutie shall Daylie pray to God for your Maiesties longe and happie Raigne over vs.

Jo: Walter
Thos Malet.

[Indorsed:] "Lune septimo die Februarie Ao. vndecimo Jacobi Regis

Harker"

"Widley versus Withers et alios
H: 11° Ja R."

The Answer of Edwarde Withers Yeoman one of the Defend't[es] to the Bill of Complaint of George Widley Complaint. Jur[atum] 22°. Die Nov. Ao. 13 Jacobi R[egis].

"Harker."

The said Defendant by p[ro]testac[i]on savinge alwayes Vnto himselfe[13] all advantages of Excepcion to the incertaintie and insufficiency of the said ill of Compl't. for aunswere therevnto sayth that the said Bill of Compl't. and the matters therein conteined so

[12] Interlineated.

[13] Altered from 'themselves,' and so throughout the answer, the singular substituted for the plural.

farre foorth as Concerneth him are Devised and set foorth against him of malice and Displeasure and for Vexac[i]on without any matter of cause hereof and given for the said Defendt. for full aunswer to the said Bill doeth say that as Vnto all and eu[er]ie of the libelles Rimes Writing[es] and other misdemeanures and offences wherewith he the defendt. is charged in and by the said Bill of Compl't he is not of the same or any of the[m] guilty in manner and forme as in the said Bill is alleaged and therevpon prayth to be Dismissed with his Cost[es].

Wm. Savage.

Answer to John Bates, clerk, sworn 17 May 12 Jas. I. [in form resembling the answer of Edward Withers.]

The bill against him is vexatious, he is not guilty and prays to be dismissed with costs.

Answer of John Bates, clerk, sworn 17 May 12 Jas. I. [To the same effect.]

The case of Atherton Hough, also from the Star Chamber, is equally curious. He was warden of the church in Boston, England, under Rev. John Cotton and, of course, a Puritan in his beliefs. He was sued by one of the loyal adherents of the Established Church for alleged destruction of the statues of the saints, the stained glass windows and other ecclesiastical ornaments held by the Puritans to be relics of Popery. The plaintiff describes in detail the various objects said to have been destroyed by or with the connivance of Hough and relates in particular the sacred subjects shown in each of the stained glass windows of Cotton's church. The answer of Hough seemed to be conclusive. He not only denied that he did it, but said that if he had done it he did so as an officer of the church and therefore his acts were within his powers.

16	Thomas Shaw of Boston. gentleman [14]
February	*vs*
1622	Atherton Haugh *et als* of Boston

Complainant recites that there is in the towne of Boston "one goodly greate and faire parish Church called by the name of St.

[14] Star Chamber Proc. James I. 259.

Buttolphs with high tower and belfry " surmounted by a " lanthorne," which is used as a guide for mariners in directing their sailing courses. No other port or haven in the King's realm or any other " soveraine principality " has such a high beacon for the use of seamen. On the battlements of the tower, at the four corners, are carved stones, " for antiquity buylt in the opinion of man, even from the beginning of the church, all of very curious Carvers and free masons worke " which are for the strengthening of the tower. Adorning these corners further are " figures shapes and picktures, one of the blessed Savior Christ being in the North side — the other tearmed by the Sectaryes the Pope, but the Saint hath been taken for one of the ancient Fathers St Augustine or St Chrysostome." And other figures adorned the walls curiously carved effigies of the twelve Apostles. Within the Church there was a " faire and goodly font of white marble stone," over which was suspended an ornamental cover, surmounted with the " shape or similitude of a dove ascending or descending as the said cover was raised up or lowered downe." The windows of the Church were of " Ancient coloured glasse in which were many excellent stories and pictures, viz. of Christs birth and preesthood, preaching, passing over the seas, and doing other his sacred and myraculous works; the judgment of Herod and Caiphas, the Treser bagg of the cursed Judas, Christs blessed sufferings passion buriall and resurrection; as alsoe the pictures, memories and deeds of his blessed Mother and the other Maryes faythfully wayting for his resurrection as also the joyfulness and thanksgiving of Martha and Mary at his myraculous raysinge of Lazarus from (the) dead; of the weddinge and water turned into wyne with dyvers others memorable and worthye storyes in the glasse of the said windowes." All these have been " abusively despetefully and contemptuously defaced," some part secretly in the night other parts openly by " divers sectaryes," and notably amongst others by " the two most insolent persons Atherton Hough als Haulgh and Edmund Jackson whoe of late have confessed the same affirming they will justifie the same, and the defaceing of the font and glasse windowes and being demanded what was done with the ancient glasse and the lead wherein it stood and the curious carved gilded covering of the font the said Jackson answered that he had put it to better use, broken, burnt and melted the covering of the font, the glasse and lead in the windowes and had placed and sett up thyn white glasse in place thereof." The complainant recites the ancient order of the town Government, consisting of a Mayor, twelve aldermen and eighteen Common Councilmen, before whom in processions to the Church, there is borne by two Sergeants at

Mace " two faire silver gilte maces," ornamented by a " crown imperiall " surmounted by a cross " in the usuall formie." The complainant recites the names of the mayors during recent years as well as the town clerks and states that Thomas Coney, Atherton Hough als Haulghe, Edward Jackson, Edward Tillson, Thomas Leverett have been church wardens and now William Whiting and Leonard Beetson now hold that office. He charges that all of them have been " inclined to scismes, sects and factions and are and long have beene unconformable scysmaticks and sectaries." For the past five years and more they have shown utter contempt of the laws of the King, both spiritual and temporal. These persons have consorted together and given by their example aid and encouragement to the " irregular and unconfirmable persons tearmed puritynes, some of them, other some Brownests." They in person or some persons yet unknown have " cut filed raysed and defaced the said mace and borne it to and from the church on sabbath and holy days in a contempuous manner in this mutilated condition. At divers times in the past five years these conspirators have " Covertly and secretly in the tyme of the darke wynter nights by and with the hands help and assistance of Jenkinson the Blacksmith and Clock keeper and church Clarke, " with the connivance of the Church wardens," pulled down and taken away the " portruicture and carved picture and shape of our Saviour Christ " on the church tower; and they have " bragged and boasted that now both Pope and divell beinge soe divested and throwne downe all the dogges, meaning your Majesties peaceable and loyall subjects, may carp howle and barke or words to that effect." In further contempt of the sacred ornaments these conspirators, as related by the horrified complainant, have taken away the " curiously carved dove as aforesaid " and in its place have sett up on place of it " a piece of blackwood in likeness of a pott lid." The twelve Apostles have been removed from their niches and other defacements and defilements have been practiced under the eyes of the officials. No redress or punishment can be had of them as they suborn perjury, hear their confederates without oath to escape indictment and in other ways conspire to defeat justice and foster disorder.

The answer of Atherton Hough is the only one attached to the complaint and, in effect, it is a technical plea in abatement on account of the absence of specific charges that he did the acts charged and he is advised by counsel that he need not answer same. But, he continues, " yf hee had pulled down and defaced the same (carvings etc. named by the complainant) yeat it appeareth by the said bill that hee did it in the time when hee was one of the Church War-

dens . . . and yf hee did exceed his authorities therein yeat is not as hee is informed any offence examinable in this courte, unless he had done the same corruptly whereof there is not any Mencon." That it is a matter for the Ordinary of the Diocese to consider and not a matter to trouble the dignity of this high court of chancery he adds as a clinch to his argument. He further adds that he has been credibly informed that the Statue of Christ was blown down from the Steeple five years ago in a gale of wind and that it did not as alleged by complainant contribute anything to the strength of the Steeple. "As for the Apostles," he continues, "he veryly thinketh they that are downe have been downe ever sithence the death of the late Queene Elizabeth." He states that the cover of the font was decayed and "like to fall down" and was thereupon replaced as he has heard, about five years since, before he came to live in Boston, with a "decent Comly topp." As to the stained glass windows "he veryly thinketh there were not any such storyes as described by the complaint, but the windows had become decayed and broken at times and were mended and white glass was used and the stained glass used to patch places as was most convenient. In the matter of the removal of the cross, he pleads that he is not directly charged with the deed by name, but states that the case has been heard by the King in Councell and he with Eleven others were called in and examined by Sir Robert Heath, Solicitor General, at a Court held at Greenwich on May 27th last, and all of them were "Dysmissed and Discharged of any further attendance." In conclusion he asks to be relieved of any responsibility to answer in detail and asks for costs of suit wrongfully sustained.

The chancery case of George Cleeves, founder of Portland, was referred to as obtained from the uncalendared Court of Requests. It was one in which he sued his father-in-law for breach of contract in refusing to pay to him the bride's dower agreed upon before marriage. The answer of the defendant consisted of a most amusing biography of Cleeves which the defendant had unearthed to fortify his claim that Cleeves was a peripatetic adventurer, seeking the father's money rather than the young lady's affection.

WILLIAM MULLINS AND GILES HEALE

Colonel BANKS also presented a photograph of the original will of William Mullins, the Pilgrim, 1621, and prepared the

following statement upon it and the identification of Giles Heale, a witness to the will, as surgeon of the *Mayflower*.

When the *Mayflower* cast anchor on November 11, 1620, in Provincetown Harbor after an ocean voyage of over two months, the famous Pilgrims who constituted her human freight had already begun to pay the penalty of their long voyage without the necessary variety of food essential to maintain their bodies in health. Bradford, the historian of this Colony and its settlement, tells in simple words the awful story of the "general sickness" which claimed half the Pilgrims in this first winter, as well as a like proportion of the ship's crew. In February, 1621, Master William Mullins lay sick in his rude log-cabin — a victim of the starvation disease known as scurvy, and on the twenty-first of that month his end was approaching. Too feeble to write his will, friends and associates who had gathered at his deathbed heard him express his dying wishes in the form of what is legally known as a nuncupative will. It was unsigned. These injunctions were later written out by Governor Carver and signed by two others as witnesses to this last testament of the dying Pilgrim, and the will taken to England when the *Mayflower* sailed back in April.

Forty years ago the late Henry F. Waters of Salem, who had spent many years in England searching for the English ancestry of American emigrants, found in the Prerogative Court of Probate of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Somerset House, London, a registered copy of the will of Master William Mullins, but, being only an official copy, it afforded no means of establishing identification by the handwriting or the transcribed signatures. As far as known, no effort was ever made to discover the character and quality of this mysterious person. By chance an early printed book was found containing the name of Giles Heale "chirurgeon" (surgeon) on the flyleaf and it furnished a suggestive clew for investigation.[1]

It was necessary to find the original will, and, through fortunate perseverance in exhausting the depositories which Mr. Waters had overlooked, it was finally found in the Probate records of the Archdeaconry of Surrey, as the elder children of Mullins were then residing at Dorking in that county and

[1] 2 *Proceedings*, v. 36.

were his legatees. There, in those ancient files, lay the first will ever made in New England. It is in the handwriting of Governor John Carver, signed by him (the only document known to exist with his signature) and by the two other witnesses already named. It is one of the most interesting documents relating to this historic emigration, and well might its transfer to the archives of this Commonwealth be asked of the English authorities as a document of prime national value for exhibition to the millions of Americans descended from this little band of Pilgrims.

2 Apryll 1621

In the name of god amen I Comyte my soull to god that gaue It and my body to the earth from whence It Came Allso I giue my goods as followeth (That 40 ll. w[hi]ch is In the hand of goodman woods) I giue my wife 10 li. and my soon Joseph 10 li. my daughter Prisylla 10 li. and my elldest soon 10 li. allso I giue to my elldeste soon all my debtes bonds and bylls only that 40 li excepted in the hands of goodman wood giuen as afoorsayd with all the stock in his owne hands to my elldest daughter I giue ten shillings to be payd out of my soones stock furdermore that goods I haue In virgyna as followeth 1 to my wife allce hallfe my goods 2 to Joseph and prisylla the other hallfe equyally to be devided betwene them Allso I haue 21 dossen of shouse and 13 pare of bootes w[hi]ch I giue into the Companys hands for for 40 li. at 7 years end If the[y] like them at that Rate If It be thought to dear as my ouer seers shall Thinke good and if the[y] like them at that price at the devident I shall haue 9 shars wherof I giue as followeth tow to my wife tow to my soon William tow to my soon Joseph tow to my daughter prissylla and on to the Company allso If my soon william will come to virgynya I giue hime my share of land furdermor I giue to my tow ouer seers mr John Carver and mr willamson twenty shillinges apeace to se this my will p(er)formed desiring them that he would haue an ey ouer my wife and children to be as fathers and frends to them allso to haue a specyall eye to my man Robarte which hath no so aproved himsellfe as I would he should haue don this is a a Coppy of master mulynes his will of all particulars he hath giuen.

In wittnes wherof I haue set my hand

Juratis in filis
THO RIDLEY

JOHN CARVER
GILES HEALE
CHRISTOPHER JOANES

2 August 1621

In the name of god amen I thirtie my soule to god that
gaue it and my body to the earth from whence it came
and as touchinge my goods as followeth Item I will to
my wife the land of godman wood I giue my wife 10li
my sonne Joseph 10li my daughter Isella 10li & my
eldest sonne 10li also I giue to my eldest sonne all
my bookes bands & bills only that to be excepted in the
hands of godman wood giuen as a portion with all the
stock in the same lands to my eldest daughter I giue
ten shillings to be paid out of my goods stock fardrum
that goods I gaue in augmentation as followeth I to my wife
allso halfe my goods 2 to Joseph & Isella 1/2
other halfe equally to be deuided betweene them
also I giue gaue 21 dossen of pegs & 13 yards
of bodes wch I giue into the company hands for
the vse at 7 yeards out if they like them at that rate
if it be thought to deare as my owne goods shall
stande good & if they like them at the same rate
shall gaue 9 yards vpright I giue as followeth
to my wife to my sonne william
to my sonne Joseph to my daughter
Isella and one to the company also if my sonne
William will come to augmentation I giue giue my
part of land fardrum I giue to my two owne
sonnes in Joyce Garner & in williamson howse
shillings apeece to be hid my will performed
touching them & we would haue an eye ouer my
wife & children to be as fathers & friends to them
also to haue a speciall eye to my man Robarte
wing that not be imployed amisse as I would
he should haue done this is a true copie of master
Mepsons his will of all whereof I haue taken note

Jurat in Curia

Tho Ridley

Jo Garner
Giles Wood
Christopher [illegible]
Feanes

Such is the background of the story which has given the name of a hitherto unidentified passenger on the Pilgrim ship, as well as positively showing the full name of the master of the *Mayflower;* for, in addition to the certification of Governor Carver to the will, the names of Giles Heale and Christopher Joanes follow as witnesses. Bradford had named the captain of the *Mayflower* as " Mr. Jones," but this was too common a name to follow with any assurance of success. Recent investigations have confirmed the identity of Christopher Jones as the captain of this famous voyage, long a part owner of the *Mayflower* of London. The third witness, Giles Heale, remained the unknown quantity.

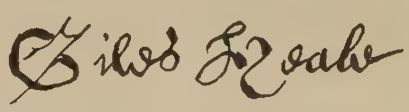
The rest of the story needs little elaboration. An examination of the records of the Guild of Barber Surgeons, London, shows that Giles Heale, an apprentice of Edward Blaney, was admitted to the freedom of the company on Aug. 3, 1619 — exactly one year prior to the sailing of the *Mayflower*. It was then customary for surgeons to serve on passenger ships making voyages " beyond seas " and the regulations of the Barber Surgeons (Sec. 47) of that date specify that the " furniture " (instruments, medicines, etc.) of surgeons employed at sea shall be examined before sailing. It was also required to have a medical man as one of the ship's company. Captain John Smith thus defines his duties and qualifications: " The *Chirurgeon* is exempted from all duty but to attend the sicke and cure the wounded; and good care would be had that he have a Certificate from the *Barber-Surgeons* Hall for his sufficiency, and also that his Chest bee well furnished both for *Physicke* and *Chirurgery,* and so neare as may be proper for the clime you goe for, which neglect hath beene a losse of many a mans life." [2]

The status of Dr. Heale on the ship is not of record, but he is as much entitled to be considered a " passenger " as Standish, who was hired as a soldier, or Alden, who was hired for a cooper for the voyage only; or the dozen indentured servants of the Pilgrims who had to go with their masters under contract, willing or unwilling, and are classed as " passengers." He went voluntarily, as far as known, and may well have gone,

[2] *Accidence for Young Seamen,* London, 1626, 3.

as two-thirds of them did, to start his life work in a new country. Surgeons had gone to Virginia long before to settle and it was not a novel or untried adventure.

It is equally likely that the forbidding prospects disclosed by the first winter and the poverty of the company may have dampened his enthusiasm and induced him to return. Several others did the same thing, according to Bradford. If he went as one of the ship's company he was doubtless employed in the capacity of ship's surgeon by Mr. Thomas Weston of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields — a London merchant who was the original moving spirit of the emigration and who chartered the *Mayflower* for the use of the Pilgrims on the account of his associates, the Merchant Adventurers, who financed the undertaking. He made the voyage, returned with her when she sailed in April, 1621, and presumably thereafter entered into the practice of his profession in London when his agreement had been completed. His name occurs in a Subsidy Roll of 1641, taxed as "Geiles Heale Surgian in Drury Lane" (P. R. O. 251/22). In 1651 he signed a petition of Freemen of the Guild Companies of London and his signature shows the same autographic likeness



as that of 1621 at Plymouth (Harl. MSS. 4778). It is also significant that Drury Lane is in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields.

On April 4, 1652, Giles Heale, chirurgeon "beinge infirme and weake of Bodie" made his last will and testament (P. C. C. 320 Brent) which is here reproduced verbatim:

In the Name of God, Amen:

I Giles Heale of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields in the Countie of Midd[lesex] Chirurgeon beinge infirme and weake of Bodie but of Sound and perfect memorye praysed be God doe make and ordaine this my last will and Testament in manner and forme following:

First I bequeathe my Soule into the hands of Almighty God my Creator and my Body I comitt to the Earth to be decently interred at the discretion of my deare and loving wife and Executrix hereafter named; And concerning my small portion of worldly goods I dispose thereof as followeth Vizt:

Imprimis I give unto my Brother Henry Heale my gray Cloth Cloke my best Hatt and a Satten Capp and one Hollond shirt. The

rest and residue of all and singular my Goods and Chattles and Debts whatsoever and wheresoever I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife Mary Heale whom I make constitute and appoint full and sole Executrix of this my last will and Testament hereby revoking all former Wills and Bequests. In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand seale this fourth day of Aprill one thousand six hundred fifty and two.

Comparison of the signatures of Heale as witness in 1621, as petitioner in 1651 with the signature to his will as above shown, provides a complete proof of identification. Making allowance for the usual change in writing matured by age, this signature to his will, written when death was approaching, is a singularly convincing proof that these two signatures were written by Mullins' bed-side physician and the Drury Lane doctor. Thus positively identified, Dr. Giles Heale can be added to the list of passengers of the *Mayflower*, despite the inexplicable silence of Bradford concerning this important ship's official. Bradford recounts the particularly valuable services of Brewster, Standish and others in the care of the sick during that first winter, but never a word of his fellow-passenger — the first physician now known to have practised his profession in New England. Speculation on this extraordinary omission finds some basis for believing it to be designed rather than accidental. There is nothing to show that Dr. Heale was unable to attend to his professional duties. His signature to Mullins' will is sure, free and steady, and there is ample evidence that he was present in the sick chamber of Mullins on February 21, 1621, when the will was prepared. It cannot be supposed that he was there in any other capacity than physician in charge of the case. There is nothing in Bradford's story to show that he was incompetent. Had he been so, we should have read Bradford's sarcasm, as he could express it, for example, in the case of the salter sent over to superintend the manufacture of salt for the colony, whose alleged ignorance of his trade was set forth in many paragraphs in biting and contemptuous phrases.[3]

[3] Bradford, *Historie*, I. 378.

The parish register of St. Giles-in-the-Fields shows that "Mr. Giles Heale" was buried on February 3, 1652–53, probably in the church yard of that edifice, which stands, near Drury Lane, and thus closes the story of an obscure London surgeon who has at last attained posthumous fame.

Dr. FARLOW read a paper on

THE ANTIMONIAL CUP OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the forthcoming volume of the Winthrop Papers will be printed the following sentence in a letter from Matthew Cradock, first president or governor of the London Company of the Massachusetts-Bay, to John Winthrop, first governor of Massachusetts, dated March 15, 1636[–37]:

> Theise to accompanie our good freynd Mr. William Peirse by whome I had a full purpose to haue sent you an Antimoniall Cupp which I make doubt whether I shall gett to send by him. Yf I bee not missinformed the vsse thereof (I feare immoderat) was an occasion of shortening Sir Nathaniell Riche's dayes, who hath made exchange of this liffe for a better.

Rich was interested in the Bermudas, Virginia and Bahamas Companies, an M.P. and a good friend of the Massachusetts Bay Colony until his death in 1636. Inasmuch as wine was used in the antimonial cup, presumably as a solvent for the antimony of which the cup was made, the question has sometimes been asked whether the cup was merely an excuse for, and exciter to, hard drinking, or whether it had real medicinal virtue. I show you a picture of such a cup, called *poculum emeticum,* possibly like the one sent intended for Governor Winthrop by Governor Cradock.

Antimony was to the ancients a very interesting substance. It had a bad name in Rome, where those who used it were sent to the galleys. The alchemists are said to have had great hopes of it and tormented it in every possible manner in their search for a universal remedy. There is a book printed in London in 1634, and written by John Evans, Minister and Preacher of God's Word, London, 1634, *The Vniversall Medicine: or the Vertves of the Antimoniall Cup. Collected out*

THE Vniverſall Medicine: OR THE VERTVES OF THE *Antimoniall Cup.*

Collected out of the Expetiments, and Obſervations of the moſt famous, learned, and beſt approved Philoſophers, and Phyſicians, that have written of that Subject.

By *Iohn Evans* Miniſter, and Preacher of Gods Word.

Joſ. Quer. cap. 31. pag. 386.

In hoc unico Antimonio videndam exhibebimus Vniverſalem Medicinam, Medicinarum Medicinam, & admirandorum aut miraculorum ipſum miraculum, ſeu mirabile mirabilium.

LONDON,
Printed by *Iohn Haviland*,
1634.

of the Experiments, and Observations of the most famous, learned, and best approved Philosophers, and Physicians. This little book is very enthusiastic in praise of the cup. As far back as Basil Valentine and Paracelsus, antimonial preparations were in great vogue and came to be so much abused that their use was prohibited by the Paris Parliament, in 1566, to all except qualified physicians. This decree was, however, gradually disregarded, and the successful treatment of Louis XIV for typhoid fever in 1657 by the physicians who used antimony aided in extending its use.

Many of the preparations were crude, irritating and dangerous, and naturally were unpopular. There was a so-called glass of antimony, made from a vitreous oxide of antimony, which was powdered in a mortar and then wine was added to it as a solvent. This was less unpleasant and safer than many of the usual preparations and for home use it led the way for the cup, which was said to have been made of an alloy of tin and antimony; the wine standing in it for several hours would become slightly impregnated, the tartar of the wine acting on the film of the oxide of antimony which formed on the inner surface of the cup, making a sort of tartar emetic. The varying composition of the wine as well as the uncertain nature of the metal of the cup made way for real tartar emetic, which is the tartrate of antimony and potash.

The cups were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, more perhaps in Germany than in England, but their day was pretty well over by 1680. At the time of the death of Sir Nathaniel Rich, 1636, they were still popular. How much they were used in families is not known, but it is said they were common in monasteries and that monks who took too much wine were punished by having to drink some more which had been standing in the *poculum emeticum*. Beside the cup, another method was used by a certain German, who attained some fame by letting out a piece of glass of antimony which the patient was instructed to immerse in a cup of wine for a few hours and then drink the wine. The fee for this treatment was a dozen of fresh eggs, and patients had to wait their turn, so numerous were the clients applying for it.

The practice of medicine in those days consisted in great part in the use of remedies having for their object the ridding

the body of the morbid substances which caused the disease, and an emetic, which had a prompt and visible result, was naturally much used. The monks in the monasteries had a proper way of treating those who overindulged in liquor.

Coming down to our own time, we know of the great success of the Keeley cure. The good effect of this was in many cases partly due to an emetic which was added to the liquor which the patients were allowed to drink without restraint. When they found out that the drinking was sure to be followed very soon by severe vomiting the desire for liquor was, of course, much diminished. It is said that the subcutaneous injection of the strong emetic, apomorphia, aided the cure.

From the extended use of antimony in all forms of disease in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and from what we know of the drinking habits of our ancestors, I think we can safely say that the Antimonial Cup was not intended in the case of Governor Cradock and Governor Winthrop to encourage the drinking of wine, but was a friendly gift on the part of Governor Cradock in order to acquaint Governor Winthrop with what was being used in Europe as a cure-all and vaunted as a universal remedy.

I do not know of what Sir Nathaniel Rich died, but as these cups were much used for many years and as no fatalities have been attributed to them, I think we are not justified in blaming them for contributing in any marked degree to the death of Sir Nathaniel Rich.

Note by the Editor

Evans, as a maker and seller of antimonial cups, naturally had a wish to extend his market and that wish explains his book. The title was entered by John Haviland at Stationers' Hall June 16, 1634, and the customary fee of sixpence paid, but the title was later struck out by an order from William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, a somewhat unusual, and the more significant step to take.[1] The cause of Laud's action can only be conjectured and probably had some reference to Evans' standing in the ministry or a too patent claim of higher inspiration. Evans describes himself as "dwelling neere Fetter-Lane, in Gun-powder Alley," but gives no hint of a church in his charge. That he must have been something of a quack is

[1] *Stationers' Registers* (Arber), IV. 321. Another edition was made in 1642.

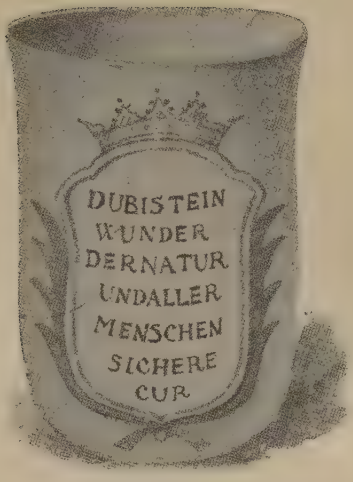
shown by Hartlib's comment, that the cup which sold for forty shillings was not worth more than ten shillings.[2] One of these cups, of German origin, is in the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn Street, London, and a representation of it is here reproduced from Wootton's *Chronicles of Pharmacy*, I. 385. A second example is in the South Kensington Museum, London (No. 1370, 1910), "which looks like a small pewter mortar, in an original leather case, with an outer box of straw-work, that looks like North American Indian work on birch bark. It is stated to have belonged to Lord Peterborough in the seventeenth century, and is accompanied by a letter of precise directions for its use."[3] A cup was in the effects of Dr. Samuel Seabury of Duxbury in 1680, valued at five shillings. In 1678 a license was granted to Mr. Seabury "to sell liquor unto such sober minded naighbours, as hee shall thinke meet, soe as hee sell not lesse then the quantitie of a gallon att a time to one person, and not in smaller quantities by retaile to the occationing of drunkenes."[4]

Evans opens his preface with the sentences: "What the Lord hath sanctified, and communicated for the health and profit of many, ought not to be concealed for the Envie & displeasure of a few: Gods candle must not be put under a bushell, neither must his Talent be wrapped up, and buried in the ground: his endowments are communicative, and everie reall Christian may vendicate his part and portion therein. To you therefore belongeth this Medicinall Iemme, whosoever that desire to prevent contagious and infectious maladies, to preserve your bodies in health, strength, and vigor of Nature, or to restore such as are already infirmed with desperate and dangerous diseases. Accept then this excellent Iewell as a singular gift of God, . . ." Perhaps this asserted origin of the cup may have prejudiced the Archbishop against the worldly manufacturer. Having thus made as round a claim for the utensil as man could frame, Evans proceeded to make

A Declaration of the most admirable vertues of the Antimoniall Cup.

1. It keepeth the body from repletion and fulnesse of humors.
2. It helpeth against all evill effects of the Stomacke.
3. It cureth all intermitting Agues, and burning Fevers.
4. It helpeth the swimming in the head, Madnesse, & Frenzie.
5. It cureth the Greene Sicknesse, and helpeth against all obstructions.
6. It prevents the Stone, the Gout, and the Sciatica, and other Aches.

[2] Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, I. 36.
[3] *Ib.*, 36*n.*
[4] Winsor, *History of Duxbury*, 47.



ANTIMONY CUP.

(From an illustration to a note by Professor Redwood in the *Pharmaceutical Journal*, July 1, 1858.)

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

7. It is a good Preservative against all contagious and infectious Diseases.
8. It cureth perfectly Morbus Gallicus, and Lues Venerea.
9. It asswageth the Falling Sicknesse, and all Convulsions.
10. It destroyeth wormes, and maketh complexion faire.
11. It emptieth the Stomacke of ill humours: the Liver of Choler: the Spleene of Melancholy: the Pectorall parts of all hurtfull humours: The Head and the throat of flegme and rheume, and all distillations.
12. It restoreth appetite lost: it causeth rest to the senses and sleepe, and loseth not his vertue through use.
13. It cureth wounds, and stancheth bloud.
14. It taketh away Wens, and other Excrescenses.
15. It cleanseth, and healeth ulcerous Sores, and Fistulaes.
16. It consumeth rotten, and putrified dead flesh.
17. It purifieth the sight, and consumeth the Web and Pearle.
18. It is excellent against all Diseases used in Clysters.
19. It asswageth the paine of the Gout, or any other Ach, by bathing and external application.

As we are dealing with a tract which could not have enjoyed a wide circulation at the time and is something of a rarity, it will be as well to make a record of Evans' directions for use and, incidentally, his account of the making of the cup. No more direct evidence could be expected than is supplied by the manufacturer, though not the inventor.

The manner how to make use of the Antimoniall Cup.

Take a well-glased earthern pot, and put this Cup therein, and powre within and round about it, as much Claret wine, or White wine, Muscadell (or Malmesey if it may be gotten, for it is best of all) or else Ale, and let it stand so warme as you may well endure your finger in, one houre or more, and let it be kept reasonable warme, at the same or neere the same degree of warmnesse by the fire close covered in the whole, by the space of twelve houres: and afterwards a Cupfull or more taken fasting in the morning, purgeth the body from whatsoever is offensive to Nature: the operation is gentle and without any violence or danger, as hath beene oftentimes proved: let them governe themselves as after other Physick.

By the quantitie and proportion of Wine or Ale (a pint for two, or for three) you may prepare for as many as you please at one time: but prepare no more than you will spend that morning, for by standing it altereth his qualitie and nature.

For the manner of the operation, it is difficult to fore-know, for it operateth according as it is most convenient and necessarie for the present estate and constitution of the body, sometimes and in some constitutions, it operateth by Vomit alone, in some others by Siedge alone,

in others by urine and sweat, but most commonly it worketh all these waies, yet without violence or danger.

If you desire it should operate rather by Siedge, you must use Ale, or Malmesey which is best, or else Muscadell: for white and Claret wines, are more apt for vomits of their owne selfe naturall properties: Some use to drinke posset drinke, to hasten and facilitate the operation which you may doe, but I rather approue the operation of it alone, for then you shall better see and judge what offendeth your body, by that which Nature will expell; if you finde not your selfe afterwards more hungrie, lively, and cheerfull, beleeve me not.

You are to observe that according to the qualitie of the heat, the continuance of the infusion, and the quantitie you give, you may make it fit for any, from the tender infant, to the strongest constitution.

Give to women and children halfe a cupfull or a cupfull according to the age and strength: if it worke not effectually to your liking, you must make it hotter, and drinke more the next time.

To prevent sicknesse, once or twice in the Spring and Autumne, or once in a moneth will be sufficient, for ordinarie infirmities, take it three times, leaving a day or two betwixt, but for confirmed diseases it should be taken as often as it worketh, for when it hath vanquished and expelled the enemies of Nature, and prevailed against all the impurities of the body, it is at peace with all that is pure and good, and then will it work no more, and thereby you may be well assured that you are perfect well, and this I do affirme upon mine owne knowledge, practice and experience to be true, and if any man make doubt of the waste & diminution of the medicinall vertues of this Cup through use, let them bee assured they will never decay; for testimony whereof I have made continuall use of one Cup for aboue three yeeres past, and I finde it more effectuall everie time than other: and the Right Worshipfull Sir *Thomas Middleton* knight hath made more experience hereof, and I am certaine will be ready and forward to confirme the same. When you have made use of this Cup: drie it with a faire cloth, and so put it up safe into his box for by washing it unheedfully or scouring it you may waste the metall, or break the Cup: for it is brittle like glasse, but if any such mischance do happen let them reserve the metall, & bring it to me in Weight, & without any commixture, and for ten shillings I will give them a new Cup.

And if any through ignorance, or malice, or such others that regard their particular lucre and profit more than the health and generall good of their Christian brethren, shall unjustly report that this Antimoniall Cup is either counterfet, and of Verie little or no vertue at all, or otherwise dangerous, pernicious and hurtfull, as being composed of *Mercuries* and Poisons, and the like; as for the vertue and continuance, it hath been already sufficiently proved: To prevent the calumny of the slanderer though it be an Herculean labour, yet to preserve my reputation immaculate, as much as in me lyeth, I doe confesse unto you really, it is made of the Mercurie of Antimony, which is the pure spirit, soule,

and life of the Minerall, refined, separated, and prepared from all impurities with much diligence, care, labour, and charges, but that it containeth any of that *Mercury* which is common Quicksilver, or *Mercury* sublimate, which is made of Quicksilver and poysonfull Arsenick, or else *Mercury* precipitate, which is also made of Quicksilver, and the Corrosive *Aqua-fortis* or *Regis:* I doe sincerely and truly protest in the faithfull word of a Minister and Preacher of the sacred Gospell of the Lord Jesus Christ, there is none of these contained in any that I make, neither any thing else, but what I am perswaded in my conscience, and have found by experience upon my selfe, my freinds, my neighbours, and mine owne children, to bee for the health, good, and benefit of the body of man, and this I confirme to be the sincere truth, as I shall answer to the Lord Jesus at the latter day: And so I conclude, and commend it and you to the blessing of our Great, Glorious, and Eternall God, to whom together with his true and only Sonne, and the most holy and blessed Spirit, three powerfull Persons, but one immortall God, bee given and rendred by all his creatures, all honour, praise, and glorie, world without end. *Amen.*

If Evans officiated as a minister he would have had a university experience. Cambridge lists gave no help to identify him and Oxford contained so many of the name at that time as to make it impossible to indicate which might be the wanted one. On turning to Woods' *Athenae Oxonienses* (Ed. 1813–20), II. 552, an account of Evans, contributed by another writer, gives a story as conclusive as it is interesting. It is reprinted in full, as follows:

JOHN EVANS or EVANCE a Welch man born, but in what county I cannot tell, because there be so many of both his names and time, that have been bred in this university, that I cannot tell how to point him out, or say that this or that John Evans is the man. After he had continued some years in this university, he applied his mind to the study of astrology, and entring into holy orders obtained a cure in Staffordshire, at or near Enfield, as it seems, but whether he was master of arts, which my author [William Lilly, astrologer, 1602–1681] affirms, I cannot tell, unless he had taken that degree in Cambridge. Howsoever it is, sure I am, that after he had continued some years at his cure, he was in a manner enforced to fly for some offences very scandalous, committed by him in those parts; for besides debauchery which was his chief crime, he gave judgment upon things lost, which as the said author saith, is the only shame of astrology. He was the most perfect saturnine person that ever was beheld —— He was of a middle stature, broad forehead, beetle-brow'd, thick shouldered, flat-nos'd, full lips, down-look'd, of black curling stiff hair and splay-footed. To give him his right, he had the most piercing judgment, naturally upon a figure of theft, and many other questions, as was by understanding men known; yet for money he would give quite contrary judgment. He was much addicted to de-

bauchery, and when in drink he would be very abusive and quarrelsome, so that he would seldom be without a black-eye or one bruise or other. This is the same Evans who made many antimonial cups, upon the sale of which he principally subsisted. He had done some acts above and beyond astrology, having been well vers'd in the nature of spirits, and had many times used the circular way of invocating, of which I shall anon give you one or more instances, and in the mean time tell you that he hath written and published,

Several Almanacks and Prognosticons —— Two of them I have seen, one of which is for the year 1613, and printed at Lond. in oct. It is dedicated with a Lat. epist. to the bishop of Worcester [Henry Parry], and hath several good Lat. verses at the end upon the 12 signs, fixed stars and planets, &c. The other is for the year 1625, printed also in oct. and hath this advertisement at the end. "At my house, the Four Ashes in the parish of Enfield within the county of Stafford are taught these arts, viz. to read and understand the English, Latin, Gr. and Hebrew, to know in a very short time; also to write the running secretary, set secretary, Roman, Italian and court hands; also arithmetick, and other mathematical sciences." The first of the said *Almanacks* for 1613 was composed to the latitude and meridian of the city of Worcester, but this for 1625 was composed to the latitude and merid. of Shrewsbury. For how many years the successions of his prognosticons lasted I cannot tell, because I have only seen the said two.[5] After he was forced from his place, he with his family retired to London, setled first in the Minories near Aldgate, and afterwards in Gunpowder-Alley in London; to which last William Lilly being directed, found him out in 1632, and after some compliments had pass'd between them, Evans was content to instruct Lilly in astrology, and in 7 or 8 weeks time he could set a figure perfectly. Afterwards by great industry, temperance and observation, and especially with the great variety of books which Lilly bought from the library of [William] Bedewell, who died about this time, he grew in time very eminent, and was accounted by many during the times of usurpation, the best astrologer that was then in England. What became of Joh. Evans afterwards, I know not, nor any thing of his end, because he lived in several places, and in an obscure condition. Now as far as those instances of invocating which I have mention'd before, I shall here set them down according to the information of the said Lilly. There was in Staffordshire a young gentlewoman, that had, for her preferment, married an aged rich person, who being desirous to purchase some lands for the maintenance of his said wife, did at length buy them in the name of a gentleman who was her dear friend, and for her use. After the said aged man was dead, and the young widow could by no means procure the deed of purchase from her friend the gentleman. Whereupon she applied herself to our author Joh. Evans a minister, who for the sum of 40l. promised to have the deed deliver'd

[5] In the British Museum are his *Almanacks* for 1630 and 1631, printed for the Companie of Stationers, London.

into her hands. Evans thereupon applied himself to the invocation of the angel Salmon, of the nature of Mars, read his litany in the common prayer book every day at select hours, wore his surplice and lived orderly all the time. At the fortnight's end Salmon appeared, and having received his commands what to do, did in a little time after return with the very deed, and laid it gently upon a table, where a white cloth was spread, and then being dismiss'd, vanish'd. The deed was, by the gentleman who had kept it, placed among other of his evidences in a large wooden chest, and in a chamber at one end of his house; but upon Salmon's removing and bringing away the deed, all that bay of building was quite blown down, and all his own proper evidences torn all to pieces. The other instance is this: While the said Evans liv'd in the Minories, which was in 1630 or 31, he was desired by one who called himself lord Bothwell, and Sir Kenelm Digby to shew them a spirit. He promised them so to do; and when they were all in the body of the circle which he had made, Evans upon a sudden, after some time of invocation, was taken out of the room and carried into the field near Battersea causey, close to the Thames. Next morning a countryman going by to his labour, and espying a man in black cloaths, came unto him, awakened and ask'd him how he came there. Evans by this understood his own condition, enquired where he was, how far from London, and in what parish; which when he understood, he told the labourer he had been late at Battersea the night before, and by chance was left there by his friends. The L. Bothwell and sir K. Digby, who went home without any harm, came next day to the house of Evans to know what was become of him; and just as they came into the house in the afternoon, a messenger came from Evans to his wife to come to him at Battersea; which she did, and conveyed him home. This story being told by Evans to Will. Lilly, Lilly thereupon enquired upon what account the spirits carried him away? To which Evans made answer, that "he did not at the time of his invocation make any suffumigation at which the spirits were vexed." In the Minories also liv'd another Evans, whom Lilly said did far exceed his tutor in astrology and all other occult learning:[6] And being questioned for his life when sir Hen. Montague was L. ch. justice of the King's Bench about 1616, he was found guilty by a peevish jury; but petitioning K. James I. by a Greek petition, (in which language he was well vers'd) the king said, "By my soul this man shall not die, I think he is a better Greecian than any of my bishops;" so his life was spared. Afterwards the house wherein he lived being new model'd, were the secret manuscripts of this Evans found under a window, with two molds in brass, one of a man, another of a woman:

[6] Sir Sidney Lee states that a friend introduced Lilly to "Arise Evans, an astrologer residing in Gunpowder Alley. Evans found Lilly an apt pupil." *Dictionary of National Biography*. XXXIII. 258. Rhys or Rice Evans (*b.* 1607) was a fanatic who after 1633 practised interpretation and prophecy. It is possible that Lilly had dealings with Arise Evans, but Evans was too young to have been the hero of the trial mentioned.

which molds and books being bought by Will. Lilly for an inconsiderable price, because the seller did not understand them, he did very much improve his knowledge by them, and gain'd what he sought after. The secrets were in an imperfect Greek character, but after he had found the vowels, all the rest were presently clear enough.

Mrs. James Barr (Sarah R.) Ames has given to the Society the following letter which had long been in the possession of Mr. Ames, but the history of which is not known. A sentence from it is in Kennedy, *William Wirt*, II. 296.

JOHN MARSHALL TO DABNEY CARR

June 26th, 1830

MY DEAR SIR, — I shall not attempt to conceal the gratification I feel at the assurance contained in your letter that the degree of neighborly intercourse which has taken place between us has made on your bosom the impression it has on mine; nor shall I hesitate to express my entire conviction that neither yourself nor Mr. Wirt [1] would feel the slightest inclination to tempt me into a path in which I ought not to walk, or to draw from me opinions which I ought not to give. It is for the purpose of making these declarations explicitly that I accompany the letters which you request me to return with this assurance that, while my own sense of duty restrains me from indicating any opinion on the delicate and I will add very interesting questions suggested by Mr. Wirt, I am not at all wounded at the frank and open application which has been made.

I have followed the debate in both houses of Congress with profound attention and with deep interest; and have wished most sincerely that both the Executive and the legislative departments had thought differently on the subject. Humanity must bewail the course which is pursued whatever may be the decision of policy.

I wish you a pleasant tour and am, dear sir, with great and respectful esteem, your obedt. J. MARSHALL.

[1] Wirt's letter is in Kennedy. See also Beveridge, *John Marshall*, IV. 542.

MARCH MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 10, 1927, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Harvard College Library, manuscript papers of Nathaniel and Joseph Brewer of Roxbury, 1722–1746; also papers relating to the French and Indian War, 1758–1828.

From Frederick G. Floyd, two plans, Dorchester Avenue, South Boston, by Stephen Badlam, April 8, 1806; and South Boston from a plan by Mather Withington, surveyed December 27, 1804.

From Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, Shattuck family papers.

From John W. Farwell, Thomas Prince's copy of Thomas Hooker's *Danger of Desertion,* London, 1641.

From William G. Thompson, papers, 1846–1874, relating to the claim of Mrs. Anna C. De Neufville Evans for supplies furnished to the United States in the Revolutionary War by her grandfather, John De Neufville, merchant of Amsterdam.

From the Plymouth Cordage Company, through Mr. Fred A. Jenks, an account of the Woolder, or Wooler stick, used in making rope, with a photograph.

From Miss Mary Patterson Lord, of Kennebunkport, Maine, Boston bill-heads, 1846-1872.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported an accession:

From Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Cunningham, by deposit, the desk of George Hayward, M.D., of Boston, 1791–1863; Harvard, class of 1809; Professor of Surgery, 1835–49; Fellow of the Corporation, 1852–63; one of the surgeons present at the first trial of ether; President of the Massachusetts Medical Society. This desk may have belonged also to his father, Lemuel Hayward, M.D., of Boston, 1749–1821; Harvard, class of 1768; and surgeon of the American Army in charge of the Hospital in Jamaica Plain during the Revolution.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Professor Josef Redlich, accepting corresponding membership, and from Professor Arthur Meier Schlesinger, accepting resident membership in the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary also extended the cordial welcome of the Society to Dr. George Peabody Gooch, of London, England, a Corresponding Member, who was present.

The President appointed the following Committees to report at the annual meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: HAROLD MURDOCK, CHESTER N. GREENOUGH, and ROBERT GRANT.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts and the state of the Funds of the Society: FRANCIS R. HART and GEORGE G. WOLKINS.

To examine the property of the Society in charge of the Librarian and the Cabinet-Keeper: LAWRENCE S. MAYO, ALBERT MATTHEWS, and CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

Claude Halstead Van Tyne, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society, and Allen French, of Concord, a Resident Member.

The President announced the death on February 28th at Paris, France, of Joseph Florimond Loubat, a Corresponding Member of the Society since October 10, 1878; also the death of Brooks Adams, of Quincy, on February 13, 1927, in Boston.

Mr. FORD paid a tribute to Mr. Adams and reserves it for later use.

JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.

The President announced that the year 1927 completed fifty years of membership of Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., elected January 11, 1877, and gave Mr. Morse a cordial greeting on the jubilee, to which the members heartily responded.

Mr. MORSE then read as follows:

I have been informed that I have been a member of this Society for fifty years. To me it does not appear a very interesting fact, but you are kind enough to regard it more politely. But why you apply the word jubilee to the occasion, I admit puzzles and confuses me. I am unconscious of any especial

jubilation. Perhaps if I were inclined to be humorously cynical I might say that I should be jubilant because I have got the fifty years behind me instead of having them still to pull through; but that is not exactly my way of speaking. I remember that our most distinguished president, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, in his old age was lying extremely ill, so much so that his life was despaired of. But as the days passed and he still lived the doctor cheerily encouraged him, saying: "Well, Mr. Winthrop, I really believe you are going to get well." Whereupon Mr. Winthrop looked at him with a feeble shake of the head and said: "Doctor, do you mean to say that I have got to go through all this thing again?"

Well, I am here to say something, but Heaven knows what I am to say. Two or three days ago I began to seek ideas in the catalogue of the membership of our Society. I failed to get the ideas, but I did find that three of my ancestors have belonged to it. One of them, Jedediah Morse — but I believe he should more correctly be described as kindred than as a direct ancestor — was elected in 1796, the second year after the Society was incorporated. I do not know much of him. He was a D.D., but was more especially noted as a famous geographer, writing an important work on the subject. 'Tis said that in the recitation room the Greek Professor asked him where a certain Greek root was to be found, and he promptly replied: "On the West Coast of Africa."

The next one was Christopher Gore, who from 1806–1818 was our President. He was a genuine grandee of the Old School and also a man of distinction. He was a leading lawyer; Daniel Webster read law in his office and was his warm and life-long personal friend. He was sent to England as a Commissioner under the famous treaty made by John Jay, in 1796. One year he was elected Governor of the State and liked the position so well that he was fain to try it again. Thereupon he had his four horses harnessed to his stately coach and made a sort of royal canvassing tour of the State. But the toilers in the fields were not favorably affected towards a candidate who went driving about in a four-in-hand, and he lost his election. He had a handsome fortune and, instead of sending it into channels which might have led it down to me, I regret to say that he presented a large part of it to Harvard

College and it went to build and equip the library of Gore Hall.

My third ancestor was Charles Jackson, a Judge upon the bench of our Supreme Court, in the days when that Court stood, or flattered itself that it stood, as the best legal tribunal in the land.

When I came into this Society it occupied its old quarters on Tremont Street, right in the midst of old Boston, three minutes' walk from the Old South Church; close by Park Street Church and the Granary burial ground; hard by was also the old church on Brattle Street, with its cannon-ball breast-pin, which did not retire before the inroads of business until 1872; and of course the King's Chapel and its burial ground were actually on our boundary line. By the way it is entertaining to remember that when the Revolution broke out the patriots were so offended by the royal title of that place of worship that they cancelled its real name and called it the Stone Chapel, and this nomenclature prevailed so long that I recollect that even so late as in my own boyhood I used to hear it called the Stone Chapel more frequently than King's Chapel.

Shortly before this important date of my election the old Chapel had a narrow escape, imperilling not only its name but almost its existence. When Mr. Parker built his huge hotel on School Street, he soon found that thoroughfare to be too narrow to please him. He wanted a cab stand and also plenty of room for fine equipages to bring important visitors to his door, and for carriages to carry Harvard students home; all this besides the ordinary traffic. He looked with animosity upon the time-stained old stones of the Chapel. It seemed to him perfectly plain that they constituted a nuisance, at least an obstruction. He suggested total destruction, but appreciating that this might irritate some crabbed and narrow-minded old citizens he contented himself with the more moderate demand that it be moved back fifteen or twenty feet into the graveyard. The dead people could be trusted to make no protest. He was an energetic man and the position was not without very serious danger. The opposition, however, was spirited, our Society, of course, taking a vigorous share therein, and, as we know, the iconoclastic inn-keeper was finally obliged to abandon his villainous project.

Not more distant from our quarters than were these venerable old churches there were also other spots somewhat frequented and somewhat dear to memory. I do not refer to the Museum Exchange where that splendid old actor, William Warren, beloved and admired by all old Bostonians, as good a comedian as ever trod stage boards, might often be met, seeking refreshment. But I am thinking rather of that dear little tavern called the " Bell-in-Hand," so entitled from the carved sign over its door. You could reach that spot in two minutes from our staid quarters, and could get there a mug of foaming ale, in a shabby little room, but whose dingy wooden floors were sanded according to the good old fashion, and upon whose darkened walls hung some prints which depicted the early history of Boston. I remember one displaying the body of Crispus Attucks, prone upon the stones of State Street and the bloody Red Coat ranks in front of him. And there were sundry other companion pieces, for which the proprietor was offered great sums even then but which he would not part with for lucre.

A little farther away, nestled under the shadow of the Old South Church in an out-of-the-way courtyard, was another little hostelry, which bore in the same old-fashioned way the sign of " The Blue Bonnet." This was the haunt of the loyal Scots of Boston. There they imbibed Scotch whiskey and smoked those long white-stemmed pipes yclept " a yard of clay," and there they made the blackened, cobwebbed rafters ring with the songs of Robbie Burns. How they did intone, not always in charming voices, those charming ditties! The annual celebration of the natal day — or rather, night — of the great poet was a carousal that passes description. There we assembled about nine o'clock and sat till I do not accurately remember what hour in the morning, and the ballads of Auld Scotland seemed to have no end. We lads were delighted; we thought we were Pendennis and Warrington over again, and that the famous " Back Kitchen " had its prototype in Boston. We did not much care for Dickens, though laughing over Pickwick and admitting some merit in David Copperfield, but we were steeped to the eyes in Thackeray, whom we absolutely worshipped.

So there was our staid Association ensconced in the midst of the old town, among the old churches and among the old

bar-rooms, and with the good old Boston Museum next door to us. It was a necessity to migrate, but it was a necessity much to be regretted.

As my memory runs back to those remote old meetings of fifty years ago they seem to me a little — not very much — but distinctly a little, different from those which we have to-day. In those days there was more social solidarity, if I may so express it, in the Society than is visible to-day. The members all knew each other, more or less intimately. When we came together there was a general shaking of hands and familiar saluting of friends. The effect was really quite that of a Club. Of course with the great expansion in society which has taken place since then, that condition is no longer to be expected. A splitting of groups has been inevitable. But it was rather pleasant then to feel intimate with each other's idiosyncracies and to anticipate the way in which one member would accept or repudiate what another member was saying.

I think that the most picturesque member of the Society during the earlier years of my membership was William Everett, the son of Edward Everett. He was a genuine character. Charles Lamb could have immortalised him with one of those inimitable descriptions of Elia. He had certain unfortunate personal traits which interfered with his success in life, but he really was a man of astonishing acquirements, a scholar in the old-fashioned sense of that word. Greek and Roman literature were as familiar to him as the literature of England, and this he knew by heart. He would have chattered with Erasmus in Latin, very fluently. If you asked him for a quotation, even the most recondite, he not only at once placed it for you but probably would repeat the whole page in which it occurred. He had one of those astonishing memories which are incapable of ever forgetting anything. He read voraciously, and the result was that it seemed as though he could have compiled out of his own head the whole *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* barring only the scientific parts, for which department he had no taste. He was an orator, to speak after the fashion of those olden times when oratory was impetuous, dramatic and elaborate. I remember an entertaining incident in illustration of this; that is to say, I remember

it, but with one embarrassing hiatus in my memory. Some literary man had recently died, in England I think, and he was of such eminence that his death was mentioned by our president; and precisely here comes my unfortunate failure to recall who the decedent was! To call him Mr. Blank or Mr. A. B. is a woful bathos, yet inevitable, unless I would lose my little story, and that I will not do; so I limp on. Now Everett was a reverential admirer of this illustrious Unknown and was profoundly afflicted by the decease. Accordingly, after the mention by the chair, he rose to speak, apparently quite extemporaneously; in fact, he had had no opportunity for preparation. He stood for a moment silent, and looked around upon the assemblage impressively. Then throwing out both arms, he exclaimed in tragic tones: "*And is* ——— *dead?*" Then again for a moment he gazed upon us, as if adequate expression failed him. But forthwith recovering his command of speech, he poured forth an amazing volume of eloquence, I think I may say, of real eloquence. The tears ran down his cheeks as he spoke. He recited to us, from memory, a whole ode of Horace, of course in the original Latin, and several stanzas from Longfellow. It was really a very striking oratorical display. Although some may have smiled at his ardor — not at the moment, but afterward — yet it was truly effective. I can hardly imagine such an occurrence taking place among our benches to-day. I wonder how it would be received. The times certainly have somewhat changed.

Everett had some ambition for a career as a public man, though ill-fitted for it. But the sudden tide of political revolt in Massachusetts, which swept several of our best citizens quite unexpectedly into Congress — Col. Charles R. Codman, John Andrew, Theodore Lyman and the like — carried also with it William Everett. We rather expected — or at least we thought it quite possible — that he might make a mark in the House of Representatives. He delivered two or three speeches there, but the members of that august body did not know what to make of this strange creature who had alighted among them; they had never seen that sort of man before nor heard that sort of oratory. Although they listened to him with a certain amount of curiosity, it cannot be said that he succeeded in making any effective impression upon them. He

came home and again became headmaster of the school in Quincy which was patronized by his relatives, the Adamses; but he made no noteworthy success of it. He really left nothing behind him, and yet I rather fancy that no man in this country had ever amassed such an amount of purely literary learning as he had.

A very interesting occasion was furnished one winter's afternoon in 1885 by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, the younger. His father, who for thirty years had been our dignified and distinguished President, was not in the chair that day, the seat being filled by the Senior Vice President, Rev. George E. Ellis. Dr. Ellis was a man of very high standing, good literary ability, and especially versed in New England history. His services to our Society were noteworthy. But in an address delivered one October afternoon in 1884 he quite unwittingly used a few very ill-starred words. Having occasion to speak of a lady who long ago in provincial days had married an ancestor of Mr. Winthrop, he described this worthy dame as a worldly minded woman and intimated that the part which she had played towards the old widower, Chief Justice Sewall, who would have liked to make her, in her widowhood, his third wife, had been influenced by mercenary motives. Now this lady was only, so to speak, a step-ancestress of our Mr. Winthrop, for she had espoused Mr. Wait Winthrop in second marriage, and his son had been borne by the first wife. Neither did it seem that the words which had been used by Dr. Ellis were of a very outrageous nature. But these were trifles. Mr. Winthrop saw an opportunity which he could not resist. So he now got up and read before the Society probably the cleverest and most brilliant address that has ever been delivered in its halls. In vindication of his traduced step-relative he read page after page of the most exquisite satire and humorous sarcasm. Everybody looked at his neighbor covertly with chuckles which he tried to keep inaudible; while poor Dr. Ellis seemed to feel his cushioned seat stuffed with needles. Winthrop read it with an air of quiet dignity, not allowing us to lose any of his points but always very grave, serious and restrained. I don't for a moment suppose that he had a particle of real resentment, but he was mischievous and could not lose the opportunity. But when that remarkable

afternoon was over, it was not quite over, so to speak. Mr. Winthrop handed in the paper to be printed in the *Proceedings* as usual, but when the Council came to consider this action they hesitated and at last decided against the printing. Winthrop was disappointed, but had no idea of being cheated of a large slice of his fun. As he had the right under our by-laws himself to publish the paper he availed himself of this, and had his paper printed in shape exactly resembling one of our pamphlet volumes, save only that the name of the Society was represented by a blank. Then he distributed copies certainly to all members of the Society and possibly to a few others. It at once took its rank among the rare and valuable pamphlets. I do not know how many of my hearers have seen it. If any of them have not, I should advise them to seek the first opportunity to do so.

Mr. Winthrop, the younger, did not of course play quite so important a rôle in the Society as his father did. He did, however, a great deal of work, not so entertaining as that which I have just mentioned, but exceedingly useful and valuable. He was a very polished gentleman, dignified, but very reserved, not to say distant, in his manner, though always courteous; he was cultivated and had, as has been seen, a very keen sarcastic humor. He was very indolent, unfortunately, and never did work except under some sort of compulsion. His life of his father, which was stated to have been written for this Society, is a very admirable book indeed, extremely well done, both in scheme and in detail. One bit of it amused me as being so characteristic of the biographer. As I read, I came across a long page or more of quotation, and the matter quoted was extremely abusive of Mr. Winthrop. I was astonished; why in the world was this put into the book? I found afterwards two or three more pages of like kind. In fact Mr. Winthrop was practicing an artful bit of rhetorical strategy. He inserted these things and then, as it were like a sarcastic showman, he seemed to turn to his reader and say: "This is what was being said of this most honorable man. This mud was cast at this noble figure! How astonishing! how incredible!" A bold and hazardous scheme of treatment; but he managed it very effectively. This splendid loyalty to his father was the most amiable trait in his character. When his

father died he went to the Legislature and actually had a special bill passed to continue his name Robert C. Winthrop, *Junior,* because, as he said, "There has never been but one Robert C. Winthrop and never should be but one." The resort to the Legislature was unnecessary, but it lent formality to his action.

Another member of our Society whom I like to recall was Richard H. Dana, a gentleman for whom I had the highest esteem and warm personal regard. He was picturesque and striking, and of strongly marked individuality. Though engaged in the practical affairs of life he had much of the quality of genius in his vivid composition. He was cultivated and scholarly, the most eloquent advocate whom we have ever had at the Suffolk bar, with the sole exception of our great marvel, Rufus Choate. He was brilliant in conversation, and wrote in graceful and finished style. He was a very hard worker. He was high-minded and courageous; an early comer among Free-Soilers and Anti-Slavery men; zealous, ardent and impulsive, sometimes too much so for his own worldly advantage. I have drawn a fine character; on the other side of the picture I should have to draw the career of a man who seemed at every important point in his life to be pursued by unmerited hard fortune. His education was interrupted by ill-health and menaced eyesight. He was sent to sea, made two voyages round Cape Horn, notoriously the severest of all ocean journeys, came back invigorated and wrote that wonderful book *Two Years before the Mast.* I never met anyone who had not read it at least once, and many have read it several times over, but he was so pressed for ready money that he had to sell the copyright for the niggardly sum of three hundred dollars, and then for thirty years sat by and saw the purchasing firm drawing thousands upon thousands of dollars out of it. He was practicing law in Boston, and becoming prominent, when a gang of thugs assailed him one evening as he was on his way home from his office; they beat him brutally and injured him severely. His high professional reputation and his nautical experience led to his appointment as United States Attorney for the Massachusetts District, where he made a fine success, especially in the busy days of the war. This led to his being persuaded to prepare a new edition of Wheaton's

famous treatise on International Law. The Government had need of something more satisfactory than the previous editing by William Beach Lawrence of Rhode Island. Mr. Dana, working at high pressure, produced a very fine work, which was received with applause. His star seemed in the ascendant; when, suddenly, after many months, there broke upon him a lawsuit for breach of copyright, instituted by the former editor. Very inconsiderately, it must be admitted, but in his impetuous, outspoken way, Mr. Dana had referred in his preface in no polite terms, to Mr. Lawrence's previous edition; that gentleman, of a vindictive disposition and angry at having been superseded, now brought this suit. It was a long, and most harassing litigation. It was founded on a narrow technical basis and after long consideration it was decided, on wholly technical points of detail, against Mr. Dana. He and his legal brotherhood appreciated the technical character of the whole affair, but the public knew only that Mr. Dana had lost his case, and with it perhaps some of his reputation — though this should not have been the case.

Further troubles also beset Mr. Dana; inconsiderate admirers and ill-advised friends dragged him into public life. It was when Massachusetts respectability was seeking anxiously for some self-sacrificing person who would enter the lists against the notorious Benjamin F. Butler, who was then a candidate for the seat of the Essex District in the U. S. House of Representatives. But everyone knew to what vilification and slander he would expose himself if he should stand against the most foul-mouthed and most unprincipled man who had ever entered our political arena. No one was generous enough to take the place. Prominent among those solicited was Mr. Dana. He was exceedingly reluctant to make the sacrifice, so unkindly and so strenuously insisted upon. But he had courage, zeal, and above all else, to his own misfortune, he had a very high sense of duty. To this last the artful solicitors appealed so forcibly that he was fairly compelled to yield. A campaign, most odious to him, ended in utter defeat. Later, partly as a reward for this gallantry, he received the nomination for Minister to England. In all the country there was no man better fitted for the position; and of all possible positions there was no other which would

have so pleased him. Every high-minded man in the length and breadth of the land hoped to see the nomination accepted by the Senate. But Benjamin F. Butler, the malignant and the vindictive one, willed otherwise, and such is political machinery in our land that this man, whom everyone disliked and whom no one respected, was able to thwart the confirmation. It was the last blow which was to fall on a noble and self-sacrificing man.

These memories of Mr. Dana naturally recall to mind his intimate friend, and frequently his shrewd adviser, Francis E. Parker, who was another of our members. I think that he had the keenest mind that I have ever seen. I select the word carefully, for truly his tongue was like the blade of a scimitar. I liked him very much. He had his idiosyncrasies. Primarily he was an Anglophile. Every summer he went to England for anywhere from four to five or six weeks. He went because the English barrister always went in summer to the Continent for the like period. But Parker liked to go to England because, as he said, it was the only place in the world where he could speak the only foreign language which he knew well. He never let anyone know that he was going. If a client went into his office and asked for Mr. Parker, the clerk, Mr. Levi — almost as much of a character as himself — would leave his desk and walk to Mr. Parker's room, look in, return and say: "No, he does not seem to be in just now." "Well, can you say when he will be in?" "No, not exactly. When he went out he didn't say when he should come back." Mr. Levi knew all the while that Mr. Parker was on board ship on his way to London, but he had been carefully instructed in this line of conduct.

Mr. Parker was, I suppose, the only man whom President Eliot dreaded in debate. He was a member of the Board of Overseers in Mr. Eliot's earlier years which were certainly more stormy than is now remembered. Then President Eliot was getting into the saddle; he had by no means taken the grip on his steed which he had later. He was in truth beginning his reformatory work with a little too much impetuosity. His theory of ceasing to watch the students like mischievous children and in future to appeal to them more as reasonable men, had a very good core of sound sense as we all know; but

it was hardly prudent on his part to put it so suddenly and so daringly into practice as he did. He, if I may so express it, raised the lid too suddenly, and the pot boiled over very badly. For example, one student spent nearly the whole winter in Cuba, and many other students took as many holidays in New York as they liked and no notice was taken of such conduct. That sort of thing started a good deal of criticism and doubts were openly expressed as to whether Mr. Eliot was quite the right man for the place, and for many years there was a faction which held this feeling very strongly, and this faction was well represented in the Overseers. I think President Eliot had the most perfect self-control of any man whom I ever saw. But how Mr. Parker, the leader of the opposition, did bait and harry him! With that adroit sarcasm, which he possessed to perfection, he delivered his thrusts, now with dexterous quickness, now in fierce onslaught. Dr. Eliot never quailed, but it seemed as though we could see the quiver run through his frame, as it were under the skin. I admit that at that time I was an adherent of Parker, yet sometimes I felt as if he was over cruel; it seemed too merciless, too vindictive.

As I seek to bring to mind some of the mots of Mr. Parker I recall what he once said about Mr. Dana: "Dana is a man who will go to the stake for a principle, upon a misapprehension of facts" — a trifle sarcastic yet, at least in the compliment of the first words, thoroughly truthful. I am tempted also to repeat the wickedest thing that Parker ever said; I do not think it is unfair to repeat it, since I am very sure that he himself was well pleased with it and that he said it more than once. In a little group one day discussing sundry national traits, Parker said: "The mission of America is to vulgarise the world." Some men who would have thought this would not have said it, but Parker never quailed before any saying.

It would be preposterous to close these remarks, amorphous as they may be, without the familiar name of Adams being mentioned. It is the most famous family in the United States — most famous, but hardly most popular. Old John Adams had not the vague but valuable knack of conciliating goodwill; and, further, his undisguised dislike of Washington and Franklin, by whom he felt himself overshadowed, did not

tend to make people feel kindly to him. I remember our old associate, Colonel Henry Lee, a gentleman steeped to the lips in the lore of olden days, speaking to me one day, with eyes flashing with anger, as he said: "Why, do you know what that fellow [John Adams] said of Washington? He said that Washington was *an old wooden-head.*" I don't know on what authority Colonel Lee advanced this allegation; but it was quite too probable to be called in question. The son, John Quincy Adams, had many enemies, and merciless, but they could not prevail to keep him out of our non-partisan Society, of which he was a member from 1802 to 1848. In the next generation we find Charles Francis Adams among us. I had a great fancy for that old gentleman; in his old age he used to walk for exercise on Beacon Street every afternoon and I used to look at him with amusement. I thought that in all my life I had never seen but one other face so cross as his. It was matter of course that he ranged himself with the minority during many years before the war; he liked minorities. Later he won his great glory as Minister to England, and never was there a more striking instance of the right man in the right place. In point of ability he was fully equal to all demands made upon him. But in a much more picturesque, and at least equally important way, he faced trying occasions as no other man could have done. When in his presence some British aristocrat, sympathising with the South, deriding the middle-class North, imprudently emitted one of those brutally insolent remarks, then so often heard in the British Isles, what was his discomfiture when the short, thick-set, fierce-eyed little American gentleman, suddenly countered upon him with a blow between the eyes, or a fine left-handed swing upon the jaw which laid his burly British form prone upon the floor. I use these words figuratively, of course. I would not have it supposed that Mr. Adams smote the countenance of a Duke or a Prime Minister; only that in a bout of merely verbal boxing, Mr. Adams was apt to lay out the party of the other part. In point of fact this kind of service was of fully as much practical advantage as was the most careful diplomatic note. His temper and his tongue rendered us service which was a trifle abnormal and the record of which is not written down in solemn histories, but which was of infinite value.

The oldest son of this Mr. Adams was John Quincy Adams, a gentleman of very great ability and very popular. How he escaped belonging to this Society is a conundrum which I cannot answer. His younger brother, Charles Francis Adams, the second of the name, was our very efficient President. He was a good friend of mine, and I have a very warm feeling for him. He was a man whose fine abilities outran his success in life although his success was considerable. While still a young man he and his brother Henry published a little volume, *Chapters of Erie*. It laid bare some of the more interesting and obscure machinations of Jay Gould and his associates. It was exceedingly interesting and was widely read, not only in this country but also in England. By itself it made its writers famous. A few years later, Charles Adams was chosen President of the Union Pacific R. R. Co. and accepted the position. Now each of these incidents was in itself excellent; the book had been brilliant, the Presidency was a most distinguished post. It was, however, a most unfortunate occurrence that the two should be combined in one and the same person. By that book Charles had made one of the most vindictive and dangerous enemies living in the United States. Jay Gould was reputed to be a Jew, but he had traits strongly indicative of the American Indian. When that volume came out he at once pitched his camp upon Charles's trail, and upon that trail he meant to stay until he got Charles's scalp. When Mr. Adams became President of the railroad, Mr. Gould saw that his chance was coming; and in due time it did. The Gould snares could not be evaded and Mr. Adams found himself in a position where he felt it desirable to resign the Presidency. He faced the situation with his wonted invincible courage and soon turned to extensive business operations for which he had a great taste, and to the management of which he devoted a large proportion of the rest of his life. I suppose that since he followed his own tastes he did well; yet I have often regretted that he did not devote himself more to writing. For historical work concerning this country no other living man was so well-fitted by knowledge, interests and tastes as he was. He wrote very attractively. His two volumes, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, show what a pleasing picture can be drawn of an apparently most unpicturesque period

and people. His life of Richard H. Dana stands very near, if not at, the head of American biographies. Yet perhaps it is surpassed by his life of his own father. This was a volume in the American Statesmen Series and it was written, so to speak, at high pressure when Mr. Adams's mind was preoccupied with many other important matters; yet there is no other volume of the Series which I have heard more often and more warmly praised. To amuse you with a trifling episode let me tell you this: In speaking of an early part of Mr. Dana's career, Adams described him as much over-driven with excessive labor, and going home after a hard day in the office, in great need of refreshment and stimulation, and there sitting down to a New England tea — I think he enumerated some of those very simple viands which veterans like myself can remember as constituting that harmless but not invigorating meal — and this, said Mr. Adams, was by no means a wholesome diet for a tired man. He was being injured by under-nutrition. But the two sisters of Mr. Dana, with whom he was living at the time thus depicted, bestirred themselves indignantly and made it very hot for Charles, who had written quite innocently. They said that their brother had just as good tea and just as good food as anybody else in this part of the country! — which was undoubtedly entirely true. Charles was a little astounded. I understand, however, that he expunged the sentence from his later copies, tho' I have not investigated to assure myself.

I was writing to Charles one day about some matter, and I said to him that I thought it was a thousand pities that he had not made it his life work to write great books on the United States. In reply I got a letter written in what impressed me as a rather melancholy tone in which he said that things might have been very different from what in fact they had been, and that possibly it would have been better if they had been so different; but that it was too late now to reshape the past or undertake a new course in the future; the time had gone by; what had been, had been. As I read the letter I felt rather sorry for what I had written, for I feared I had touched a chord of possibly painful regret.

I do not know how much longer I might keep on gossiping to you. I could tell you more about Mr. Dana and about one

or another, but I rather think that my chatter has lasted long enough. If I have bored you, remember that I did not seek the opportunity to do so.

Professor EMERTON read a paper on the "Development of the Historical Department of Harvard University," which will be published elsewhere.

Mr. LANE had very courteously sent for exhibition a number of broadsides of Massachusetts origin on which he submitted the following note:

A venerable volume has lately come into the possession of the Harvard Library, remarkable for the number of Boston imprints of the years 1744 and 1745. Besides a complete file of the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* for 1744 and 1745, a complete file of the *Boston Evening Post* for the same two years, and eight scattering numbers of the *Boston Gazette,* it contains also nineteen broadsides, of which thirteen are official Massachusetts proclamations, all dated 1744 or 1745. Several of these are, so far as known, unique copies. The volume also contains the Yale Triennial catalogue of 1745, a fragment of the Harvard Triennial of the same year, and the sheets of Harvard Theses and Quaestiones of 1744 and 1745; also two pamphlets: *An Essay on Comets,* Boston, 1744 (Evans, 5389), and *A Humble Address to All Concern'd,* which is undated, but bears a contemporary manuscript note: "Came forth the beginning of May, 1744."

This volume was lately owned by Mrs. George B. Glidden, who inherited it through direct descent in four generations from her great-great-grandfather, Major Thomas Melvill of Boston, who was born in 1751, graduated at Princeton in 1769, and was one of the leading members of the "Boston Tea Party." The volume was doubtless collected by Major Melvill's father, Allan Melvill, who came from Scotland in 1743 and established himself in business in Boston. To find complete sets of two Boston papers of this date and so many other contemporary publications within the covers of a single volume, is surely no common occurrence. It should be mentioned that the file of the *Boston News-Letter* includes one number hitherto not recorded as in any library — that of May 16, 1745. The Library is indebted to Mr. Grenville H. Norcross for the gift of this volume.

MEMOIR

OF

JAMES FORD RHODES

BY JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.

James Ford Rhodes was born in Cleveland, Ohio, May 1, 1848. His father was Daniel Pomeroy Rhodes, a merchant engaged in the coal and iron business in that city. His mother's maiden name was Sophia Lord. His education began in the schools of Cleveland; whence he went in 1855–6 to the University of the City of New York for a year, and then to the University of Chicago for another year. In 1867 his father sent him abroad to observe the methods of conducting the coal and iron business in England, Wales and Germany. Incidentally he attended a course of lectures in the Collège de France, and also was European correspondent for the *Chicago Times*. In 1869 he came home and entered his father's firm, wherein his brother and his brother-in-law Mark Hanna were partners. In 1872 he married Miss Ann Card, of Cleveland. In 1886 he retired from business definitively. He had quite another purpose in view, and with this step the story of his career becomes interesting for us.

It is said that even in school days he had conceived the purpose of writing American history, and as the Civil War was then waging he saw tempting material in rapid and exciting creation around him, whereby the scheme inevitably took ever more and more powerful hold upon his imagination. Now Mr. Rhodes was, by his nature, a very wise man. Already, while still so near to the outset of life, he showed that sound good sense and wideness of vision, which come to most of us, when fortunately they come at all, so many years later. He had no notion of being too eager, of making a start before

he was sure of being able to hold on. So he held his ardour well in hand until all desirable preparations were fully completed and he could devote all his mind and all his hours to his writing. In time the years which he patiently devoted to business brought about these conditions and he found himself possessed of a comfortable fortune and absolutely free to do what he would. His first step was to go to Europe for a year. If this seemed a singular way of starting literary work, it was certainly shrewd; it effaced the office from his mind; it made a complete break between the two widely different halves of his life and enabled him to launch upon the second section with a fresh, free mind. Incidentally too, while abroad, he translated a French novel, writing it out carefully with the design of shaping his style and familiarising himself with the art of composition. Then upon his return he entered at once upon the real work of his life. So earnestly did he give himself to this that the first two volumes of his great history were published in 1893. Intense and steady work had gone into them; and of course great hope and not less profound anxiety must have filled his soul as he awaited their reception. It was the stake of his life. But whatever dreams he may have dared in sanguine moments to indulge in were shortly to be fulfilled; — not in a day or in a week indeed, but before the volumes had been many months on the counters of the booksellers he began to find himself famous. Appreciation came with surprising speed. Precisely such a book had been keenly desired, but by whom it should be written no one had been able to suggest. Now this secret was made known. The word was passed round; Rhodes was doing it. Everybody was hastening to buy and to read, and there was one universal acclaim of praise. All the readers were satisfied. It was an extraordinary triumph to be won so instantly and by a man whose name, up to that moment, had never been heard, save by a very few individuals.

In order to get the best opportunity for research, and also to be able to have the advantage of discussion with two or three gentlemen whose knowledge he especially respected, Mr. Rhodes had removed from Cleveland to Cambridge, whither at first he came, of course, as a stranger; but now that he had shown what he was doing every one was seeking to meet and

to know him. It was very flattering, yet not a whit more so than it should have been. Six years of unintermitted labour by a writer of his intellectual ability are a considerable investment and fully deserved all the reward which was so honorably vouchsafed. The impulse was to keep right on, but he felt the need of taking breath. With his usual good sense he gave himself a recess, and he used it in the way in which he always liked to use all the leisure which he allowed himself to the end of his life — he went to Europe and there passed a year. Upon his return, refreshed, to resume his labour, he bought the house 392 Beacon Street, Boston, and there took up his residence for many years to come. What pleasant reminiscences for how many people are associated with it! Promptly he was at work again, and one after another the remaining five volumes of his great work were published, the seventh and last appearing in the year 1906. The title of the earlier volumes was: *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850,* the last bore the longer title: *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877.* Thus there was cut out a period complete in itself, with a logical beginning and ending.

Of course with the appearance of each new volume the value and the permanent life of the work became more assured and the popular appreciation of it grew. I have, however, no intention here to expand these remarks into anything like a review of the book. My task has to do with Mr. Rhodes personally, rather than with any minute dissection of his writings. Moreover, after some few sentences of commendation in general, what further should I have to say? The famous reviewers of books have been really critics of them; they have manifested their own erudition and cleverness by pointing out the omissions, or the erroneous statements, or the false theories, or the general dulness of the unfortunate writer. Sometimes they may be right, and sometimes very wrong; but such they make their unkindly task. If anyone feels competent to play this part towards Mr. Rhodes's book, I shall leave the task for his ambition. I should be a critic who finds nothing to criticise and who therefore had better put aside his pencil and paper. Yet there are one or two suggestions

which I should like to make, which may pass for what they are thought to be worth. It may be said for Mr. Rhodes that he never once forgets that he is an historian, that he is not a novelist, nor yet the collector of a gallery of portraits. He is writing of incidents so exciting and of actors so full of vitality that he can afford to confine himself to the task of straightforward narration. He is not seduced as Macaulay was when he drew his high-colored picture of the massacre of Glencoe, which was historically merely an incidental event. The space allotted to that story was in itself an error in proportion, and in this respect it was an error into which Mr. Rhodes never fell; his proportions were always perfect; his foregrounds and his perspectives, and all objects and persons therein placed, were all exactly correct in relative size and prominence. Macaulay's pages are perhaps the most brilliant that even he ever wrote and no doubt readers are glad that he did not withstand the temptation; yet we cannot but recall the remark of the French officer contemplating that famous charge of the six hundred in the Crimea, "C'est magnifique! *Mais ce n'est pas la guerre.*" Mr. Rhodes's temptations to similar divagations were numerous and strong; warfare, if not politics, furnished them in abundance; but he never strays into episodes because they give him a chance to use the high colors of his palette. Is it possible that his cool self-restraint was indirectly due to the long years of his business training? I should like to throw out the suggestion. Certainly it seems a wild notion to intimate that dealings in coal and iron may lay a good foundation for literary skill. But that is by no means the point. It concerns the mental attitude towards the work in hand; it is the condition of the worker's mind, the principles according to which he lays out his scheme, the grooves fashioned for his thinking to move in. Business teaches what may be called a clean-cut way of thinking; impulse is absolutely discarded; an accurate knowledge of exact facts is essential; due weight must be allotted among colliding suggestions. In short the study given to the matter in hand must be both exhaustive and dispassionate. Such had been Mr. Rhodes's mental training for many years; and it had shaped the way in which he contemplated his subject matter. This had nothing to do with the minor treatment, the routine

and detail to be used in carrying out his work; but it had a great deal to do with the broad, fundamental conception which he took of the enterprise and of his general method and system of preparation. If there is any soundness in this suggestion of mine, it is obvious that his training in business had been of practical though unperceived usefulness. It meant the acquirement of the uttermost degree of thoroughness, it meant thoughtful weighing and accurate balancing of all that had been learned. Now surely these qualities marked his writing in a high degree, and were largely the cause of its value. He wrote well and vividly; but it is not because he was an artist in rhetoric that we delight to read his volumes and that we accept always his statements. I am afraid that all this that I am saying may not be very kindly taken. I am addressing literary men and the literary man likes to regard the man of affairs as perhaps an intelligent fellow but certainly intellectually a bit inferior. I won't defend myself by discussing this point, but only suggest that a fact is more important than the words in which it is narrated. Now I beg that none of you will go away and say: "This absurd Mr. Morse says that anyone who is going to write a book had better go into business first." I don't mean any such nonsense; only I happen never to have heard anyone else say that which I strongly incline to believe, viz. that Mr. Rhodes's score of years in mere practical business were of substantial advantage to him when he came to write the annals of a great multitude of very hard and conflicting facts.

Meantime Mr. Rhodes had become quite the most distinguished writer in the country. Since the generation of Holmes, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Emerson and their confrères had passed away, no important literary work had been done in the United States. Science, mechanics and "big business" had absorbed, and were continuing to absorb, all the brain power in the country. To look for a book worth reading wholly for its own intrinsic charm or merits was as futile as to look for good skating at the Equator. Only now at last there fortunately stepped into the foreground this student in what is at least a province of literature and who was producing therein one of the very few really great histories which have ever been written. The country, whose good name in so

important a department of civilisation had been thus gallantly saved by him, surely owed him a great debt of gratitude, and it is very pleasant to be able to say that this debt was very honorably paid. Appropriate honors were showered upon him. Colleges, big and little, hastened to distinguish themselves by bestowing doctorates upon him. Literary and learned societies eagerly enrolled him as one of their fraternity. He could have decorated his name by appending thereto many lines of significant capital letters, had he been so minded. In the long list of compliments there came of course degrees from Harvard, Yale, Princeton and others; and somewhat later — three years after his seventh volume appeared — he had the pleasure of receiving the degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Oxford. Distinction thus expressed of course gratified him, for it bore witness to the only kind of fame he really coveted. Yet he never uttered a word concerning any of these tokens, and if it had depended upon him to make them known, they would have remained forever secret. In other fields, where competition was direct, he also won triumphs. He bore away the Loubat prize from the Berlin Academy of Science; also the Pulitzer prize at Columbia College. Further he was invited to deliver the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard. Indeed compliments fell thick upon him, more, in fact, than I can pretend here to remember and to enumerate.

He himself stood in the midst of these abundant showers, pleased of course, but altogether unspoiled. Indeed his modest simplicity was almost incredible. Few men have ever taken so much adulation with such an equable air almost of ignoring it. Never once, publicly or in private, by word or bearing did he indicate any appreciation of the fact that he was a celebrity. Such ingenuous satisfaction as he must inevitably have felt produced not the slightest trace of vanity — a weakness wholly alien to his nature. The conundrum was: How could a man of his intelligence fail to know his own greatness? Yet he did; and I verily believe that in the privacy of his own closet he never thought of himself as a "great man."

Together with his reputation, and even more than his reputation, grew his personal popularity. He had come to the

East as a complete stranger; he had been here only a very few short years before his circle had expanded so that it was equalled by that of few even among those who had been born to inherited local alliances. I well recall my first meeting with him — at a dinner at Barrett Wendell's house. After dinner we sat all the evening on a sofa, talking together; it was very uncivil, but for my part I found the temptation so strong that no sensible man would think of resisting it merely to avoid the indignation of a host who should have felt some gratification at seeing one of his guests enjoying himself so much. When I said my good-night I excused myself by saying that I had been making a new and very valuable friend. In this instinct I was quite right. Ordinarily I should only have been making an acquaintance; but where other men made acquaintances Rhodes made friends. His own cordiality, his effervescent kindliness stirred responsive feelings in the hearts of us all. As I write his genial smile rises vividly in my memory, and the bright light in his friendly eye. It was a countenance and an expression which will never pass out of the memory of those who looked upon them. I feel shy about using that word "love," which seems to belong rather exclusively to the more emotional and rhetorical sex, but in good truth the sentiment which Rhodes stirred is not extravagantly expressed by that sensitive word. If a man is endowed with a serene and tranquil disposition, a cordial manner, a kindly heart, an amiability which cannot be ruffled, why should we hesitate to make admission of our real feeling towards him?

Of course it was natural that a man of this temperament should be hospitable, and so indeed he was to a noteworthy degree. He was an admirable host; his extensive acquaintance enabled him to gather at his house the most agreeable persons, and dearly did he like to do so. He never appeared to better advantage than when, seated at the head of his table, he looked down the row of guests at either side, smiling with that benign smile of his, happy because they were all happy. He took pains, of course, to gather congenial groups; he had always a good *chef;* and he justly prided himself on his wines of the best vintages. So there was good fellowship and good talk always at his board. Nor less pleasant was it to make

an afternoon call for a cozy chat. He heartily enjoyed this, settling himself comfortably in his capacious easy chair, with the expanse of the Charles River visible through the broad windows behind him, his bookshelves ascending to the ceiling, a cheerful fire in the open grate — (he was the last man in Boston to secure that delightful old cannel coal.) Such was a scene to enjoy and to remember. One might have chosen an inopportune time and be a bit in the way, and certainly any sensible visitor would be sure to stay much too long, but the good-natured host, who had welcomed you so cheerily, seemed always ready to have you stay even longer. His perfect courtesy and his friendliness never lapsed. Nor is it fair in this social connection to speak only of him. Mrs. Rhodes was a lady of rare charm, as amiable and hospitable as her husband was; very clever; very keen, sensible and delightful in talk; altogether quite as good as a hostess as he was as a host. Never, in Boston, in the palmy days when the old town was making its fame, was there any house therein of which one might more eagerly desire to have the entrée.

If I have dwelt at somewhat undue length upon certain attractive traits of my old friend it has not been merely a yielding to the temptation to bring back past memories, but it has been also in some degree due to the fact that in my opinion the value and the charm of his history are both attributable in no small measure to precisely these elements in his character. I do not regard his writings as wholly the outcome of pure intellect; I think that his temperament, or moral qualities — whichever may be the proper designation — exercised an essential and a beneficent influence. It may be truly said that he has given to us the most fair, absolutely the most *just,* history that has ever been written. In saying this I hope that I am not using extravagant language under the influence of personal feeling. It is a deliberate expression of my opinion, which I thoroughly believe to be well founded. Consider the historians who have succeeded in making their writings at once famous, authoritative and popular, and who have escaped conviction on the charge of partisanship. Homer, earliest of chroniclers, held the balance pretty even. Perhaps Thucydides too. And Gibbon's gallery of Roman emperors is, I believe, accepted as having not the photographic

measure of accuracy, but a good approximation thereto. But whom else shall we name? Suppose we compare our great American with the great Englishman, Macaulay — it is a very proper comparison. We may admit that Mr. Rhodes does not rival the scholarly and brilliant style of Macaulay; for no one does; Macaulay's literary fascination is unique in historical literature. But Macaulay, although writing only about the remote forbears of the generation to which he himself belonged, could not avoid becoming a partisan. If one wishes to get at judicial accuracy of view, he cannot rest content with those magnificent pages. On the other hand, Mr. Rhodes is absolutely no partisan at all. *Tros Tyriusve* receives from him the same dispassionate handling. When we are reading what he says, we are getting even-handed truth, and there is no need of calling afterward upon the other side — the phrase is not correct, for there is no other side, there are no sides at all. There has been a judicial summing up by a fair judge. This is the more astonishing, the more creditable, because at no period of English or American history had there existed such excited bitterness and personal hatred, such unbridled defamation, such moral, social and political animosity as during the period of which he treated. As I remember those times it does not seem to me that the people of today, even the readers and the students, have any vivid and adequate picture of the conditions which prevailed in the country during a large part at least of the period covered by Mr. Rhodes. The intense bitterness seemed almost worse in the years which preceded and followed the war than during the contest itself. Annals do not indicate that any such condition prevailed in England in the time of Cromwell and the Stuarts, or when William and Mary displaced James; and certainly there was nothing like it here in the days of our own Revolution. Now much of all this Mr. Rhodes could remember; many of the actors he had seen; all were living figures for him. He was almost writing a " history of his own times." That he should write vividly was natural; that he should write with really even impartiality seemed incredible. But he did so; he really achieved this surpassing feat. He neither deified nor damned. He narrated what deeds were done, what measures were debated and what were carried, what was said in speeches,

and what was printed in pamphlets and newspapers. And he stated by what individuals these things had been done, written and said. Then he left his readers to draw their conclusions, to make the comments, to pronounce the judgments, to apply the appropriate adjectives.

These remarks would be sadly misconstrued if they should give the idea that there is any lack of vividness in his treatment, or any indifference or dubiousness in his own views. The narrative is certainly spirited, often brilliant; and as for matters of principle, it may be said that if he had been telling his story as it ought to be told it was quite superfluous for him to be constantly calling attention to the fact that the South was morally and politically in the wrong, and that she was steadily moving towards foredoomed and deserved collapse. But what I want to call attention to is the entire absence of abuse, condemnation, almost even of criticism of individuals. There were plenty of intentional evil-doers and plenty of well-meaning blunderers on both sides of the conflict. There was abundant temptation to use severe language. But if the reader, being duly and correctly informed as to what certain persons have done or said, cannot see that one of those persons is a knave, or that another is a fool, Mr. Rhodes will leave the said imperceptive reader in his ignorance. It is this wise self-restraint that produces the prevalent sense of justice. It is easy to present abstract arguments of both sides correctly, and to state admitted facts accurately; it is when we come to deal with the human element, the men, the actors, that we cross the danger line and enter the region of bias, sentiment and prejudice; then we become unjust. It is precisely here that Mr. Rhodes is admirable, here that the fine qualities of his character get into his work. His kindly nature made it most disagreeable to him to speak ill of anyone; if he had been a judge and obliged to sentence a wrong-doer to the pillory, he would have done his duty, but he would have walked a long way round to avoid the spectacle of the criminal in the stocks. It may often be seen that men of high, noble and generous natures are very reluctant to comment upon the meannesses and shortcomings of their more ignoble fellow creatures. Accordingly it can hardly fail to be noted that, while many wrong and some base and some

cruel acts have to be narrated, the actor is quietly left in the hands of the jury of readers. It was a very fine way in which to write history. A secondary consequence was that it aroused no sympathetic impulse for defending the sinner. If a fair and just conclusion was not reached, it was the reader's own fault.

Concerning one element in Mr. Rhodes's system of preparatory research I should like to say a few words. In this particular he was not quite a pioneer,[1] but he was at least an early and a very prominent comer. He turned to the contemporary newspapers as a veritable ocean of information — a vast ocean, indeed, and one which it required a resolute soul to navigate and explore. Of course, it is true that earlier historians had not enjoyed quite the like opportunity. In older days newspapers — if we except, perhaps, for a few years the London *Times*, the famous "Thunderer" — contained little matter of value for historical purposes. It may be that their development in this respect first occurred in this country during the period and under the influence of the great slavery and abolition conflict. Certain it is that both at the North and at the South all newspapers for many years were full of the absorbing topic, and it was discussed by them with a thoroughness which had never been known before in such literature. Some were even established and conducted for the express, almost the exclusive, purpose of taking part in the momentous debate. Mr. Rhodes, observing this fact, plunged with splendid courage into this extensive sea of information. With astonishing persistence he passed weary days, weeks, months in turning and scanning the dusty, musty leaves of the clumsy folios. More tedious exploration can hardly be imagined, but he found that the harvest amply repaid the labour of the reaping. Patiently he gathered precisely what he wanted to have and what he could get in no other way; he learned every shifting trend and phase of popular thought and feeling, every sober and temperate argument, every outpouring of abuse and wrath, every threat and prophecy of the extremists, every suggestion for pacification or compromise offered by the moderates. All this panorama

[1] McMaster had already avowedly used newspapers as almost the chief basis of his well-known historical writings.

he found thus spread before him at life-size, as it were, in these newspapers; and he could have seen it nowhere else. Of this material he built the noble structure of his volumes. Impressed by the value of this experience he afterward published an article concerning the usefulness of newspapers for historical work. How far subsequent labourers in the historical vineyard will be grateful to him for compelling them to enter so vast a field for toil will depend upon the heartiness and sincerity which they bring to their labour. Probably some will not bless him.

One flattering consequence of Mr. Rhodes's successful work came to him from across the seas in the shape of an invitation to deliver a course of lectures on American history at the University of Oxford. In this country, where lecturers have for generations been running to and fro in all our little towns and villages, with lectures in their pockets all ready for delivery, this statement may hardly have so impressive a sound as it is entitled to. A request for a series of lectures at Oxford was hardly to be likened to a cis-Atlantic demand of the same sort. It signified that the dons of that seat of learning, after having scanned all the States had singled out him as the man who should be urged to cross the Atlantic and to inaugurate a new department of study in their ancient University — for no such course had previously been given there. He accepted, made the trip, had a most satisfactory success, and naturally was much gratified by the experience. These lectures were afterward published in a volume.

All these compliments which I have recorded, all the generous praise poured forth upon his book, all his wide-spread fame had no visible effect upon him. What has been said of him at an earlier stage may be repeated now. He remained the same kindly, friendly, unassuming gentleman that he had been when he first appeared among us in Boston. If those of us who made his circle bowed to him as a " great man," he had not yet discovered the interesting fact. All the rest of the American world was well aware of it; he alone remained blind. But if his success could not make him vain, it had another effect. It was with his head that he had done his work, but his heart had entered into it. So it came about naturally that he was reluctant to feel that he had finally done

with it. It was true that he had reached a point at which he might logically stop, if he wanted to; but he became aware that he did not want to. He had been supremely happy delving among his books and turning off the pages of his manuscript. Why not then continue further? The United States had not come to a stop in 1877. He decided that he would go on. Accordingly there appeared in 1919 a continuation in a volume extending *From Hayes to McKinley*, 1877–1896; and in 1922 another volume; *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations*, 1897–1909. These volumes were well received and commended, but it cannot honestly be said that they increased his reputation. That this has to be avowed is no fault of his; his own work was as well done as it could be. The difficulty lay in the subject matter. Heretofore he had been dealing with one of the great crises of the centuries; he came now to deal with ordinary every-day politics, the intrigues and wire-pullings, the squabbles, rivalries and manœuvres of mere politicians concerned with questions of common governmental business. Except perhaps for the Hayes-Tilden quarrel nothing of more than ordinary interest had to be narrated. It was routine narrative, but in it he showed still his innate fairness of mind, his love of truth and justice, his accuracy and his talent for narration. Now and again some incident gave him an opportunity for interesting pages; but taken as a whole these volumes were not, could not be, monumental, as their predecessors had been. In 1909 appeared his volume *Historical Essays*. This contained sundry addresses and lectures, and a considerable number of "Papers read before the Massachusetts Historical Society." Many of these are very interesting and of considerable value. Mr. Rhodes took the keenest interest in this same ancient and dignified Society, of which he had been elected a member so early as December, 1893, and of which he was at one time Vice-President. He was untiring in his efforts by his literary contributions and otherwise to promote its welfare. The debt which the Society owed to him thus steadily grew and became very great. Since its birth two or three members may have done as much, but no one ever did more, to sustain it as a live and interesting organisation. His loyalty was warmly appreciated by the members.

Thus he began slowly to grow old. He had at no time been much addicted to outdoor exercise; none of the fashionable sports, golf, tennis and the rest, ever much attracted him. His daily walk had been taken rather from a sense of duty than for pleasure. When at last he reached those years which are politely described as "advanced," his zeal began to wane. In fact his life's work was substantially done, and with his wonted cool intelligence he appreciated this, and felt also that he had full right to take his ease and do as he would. After a while he had recourse to that which had always been a great pleasure for him; he went to Europe and there passed some winters, chiefly on the Riviera. The most interesting moral, mental or temperamental activity which distinguished this period was the feeling with which he observed what was going on in Europe. The "Great War" had given him genuine and deep pain. It touched all of us enough, but it seemed to touch him peculiarly. The years which were following after its horrors were not, to his thinking, reassuring. He watched the alleged re-instatement in an incredulous spirit. He feared that he was seeing the last scene in the long drama of modern civilisation in Europe. This he could not contemplate without heartfelt suffering. His large, generous, humane soul led him to a vivid love of his fellowmen, of all civilised mankind, of the world. His present conviction that he was beholding the advancing tide of ruin for at least the European continent made him sad, not in phrase alone but in reality. Many of his friends called this pessimism, and lamented that he should fall a victim to the feeling so common among the old. But was it pessimism, or was it premonition and sound judgment? As yet it cannot be said with assurance which it was. Europe, under its crushing indebtedness, needs two generations of peace to obtain regeneration; is she going to have these? With what confidence can we predict whether, fifty years hence, Mr. Rhodes may be regarded as a prophet or as a pessimist. No one can say.[1] But by his

[1] His good friend, Dr. Harvey Cushing, has suggested to me that this frame of mind of which I speak may have been in part induced by the Arterio Sclerosis which afflicted him in his later years, and which is apt to exercise an influence of this kind. This seems not improbable; but if it is a correct supposition it can only be said that the question how far his opinions

historical reading, his observant habit, his line of thought and study, his moderate, reasonable temperament, what man in his generation seems more fitted than he was to make an accurate forecast? In intellect and in character he was a very remarkable man indeed; we all loved him and respected his opinion. If we all hope that his latest prognostications may prove unsound, at least he also would join in the hope as strongly as the most earnest of us and would heartily rejoice if he should find himself wrong.

As the spring of 1926 approached Mr. Rhodes somewhat reluctantly decided that he would return home. Upon his arrival the season was so far advanced that he was able almost immediately to go to his summer house. At Seal Harbour, Mt. Desert, he had a very beautiful place perched upon the top of a cliff, with the ocean breaking directly at his feet. Thither he betook himself and passed the summer very quietly. In the autumn he came to a house which he had bought in Brookline and established himself there. He was hopeful of recovering a reasonable amount of health but this hope was not to be fulfilled; he gradually failed until, upon the 22nd day of January, 1927, he passed away. He was cremated and his ashes were taken to his native town for burial. And so very many of us lost at last a most dearly cherished friend, always to be tenderly remembered and never to be replaced in our hearts.

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were attributable to this cause and in what measure to purely intellectual considerations must remain an insoluble conundrum.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1927.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 14, 1927, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the New York Public Library, through Victor H. Paltsits, a leaf from the account book of Thomas Jefferson, 1783–1790. The account book was given to the Society by Thomas Jefferson Coolidge in 1898, and at some time before it was in his possession the leaf was cut out and passed into trade until purchased by Gordon L. Ford. The incident again serves as a reminder of the more liberal policy among libraries of completing records that have suffered from careless or intentional mutilation.

From the estate of David Greene Haskins, Jr., Wayland, MS. volumes and papers of General Henry Knox, 1736–1804, including five account and note books, chiefly on the War Office, 1776–1790; four on Indians, 1789; three orderly books, 1776–77, 79–81, and Brigade Orders in the British Army, Dec. 23–27, 1776; an account of the moving of cannon from Fort Ticonderoga to Westfield, Nov. 20, 1775, to Jan. 13, 1776; three note books on the Waldo patent; and a copy of the printed *Rules and Articles for the better government of the Troops,* Watertown reprint, 1775, followed by a written agreement to observe and obey them, signed by the officers in Colonel Knox's regiment of artillery.

From the estate of Miss Mary Lincoln Eliot, by bequest, through Augustus P. Loring, her executor, two letters of Rev. Andrew Eliot, Boston, April 25, and June 19, 1775.[1]

From Sturgis H. and Albert Thorndike, by deposit, the Journal of their father, S. Lothrop Thorndike, in three volumes; a log-book of his voyage to China; and letters relating to the voyage.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Col. Walter Scott, of New York, the bronze medal given by him and awarded for deeds of heroism and valor in the Police Department of Worcester.

[1] *Proceedings,* XVI. 281, 287.

From Samuel E. Morison, a fifty-cent bill of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, February 10, 1862.

By purchase: the medal of the Jamestown Tercentenary, 1907; and a photograph of a portrait of Hon. Nathaniel Gorham.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Allen French accepting resident membership.

Roger Wolcott, of Milton, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Society then proceeded with the business of the Annual Meeting.

HAROLD MURDOCK, read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

The year just passed has been unmarked by any outstanding event in the annals of the society.

The publications consisted of volume 59 of the *Proceedings* and volume VIII of the *House Journals*. There are in preparation for issuance in the year 1926–7 the following volumes: Volume IX of the *House Journals*, Volume II of the *Winthrop Papers*, volume 60 of the *Proceedings*, and volume 77 of the *Collections* (on Massachusetts Privateers).

The Editor was absent during the spring months of 1926 working in the archives and great collections in England, France, and Spain, and returned, bringing with him much interesting material bearing upon American history, which it is hoped will serve to enrich our future publications.

Certain amendments to and alterations in our By-laws have been made during the year. Far from being of a drastic nature, these were proposed and voted with the purpose of clarifying the responsibilities of the Council and of the standing and special committees appointed by them. Societies like ours are usually undermanned because of the lack of funds. Our officers have been often over-taxed, not only by lack of sufficient assistance, but because responsibilities clearly belonging to the Council and the committees have been allowed to fall upon their already over-burdened shoulders. It appears that in many instances in past years important commit-

tees appointed by the Council have never held a meeting. Under the new arrangement, membership in the Council or on the committees will hardly be regarded as a purely honorary or ornamental position. Neglect or indifference in these quarters might easily prove an irritation and handicap to our officers, while active interest and co-operation should prove in every way helpful and stimulating in the development of the library and in furthering our publication program.

Arrangements have been made with the Treasurer for placing our finances on a budget basis. A statement of the probable income will be submitted to the new Council at its first meeting of the year and the expenditures for the succeeding twelve months will be properly allotted with reference to these figures. This is in accordance with sound business practice and will serve to keep the Council more closely in touch with the financial condition of the Society.

Worthy of special mention is the legacy of ten thousand dollars bequeathed to the Society by the late Mrs. Kingsmill (Laura Norcross) Marrs in honor of her brother, our good friend and associate, Grenville H. Norcross. It will be remembered that some years ago Mrs. Marrs presented her husband's library to the Society, known to us as the Kingsmill Marrs Collection. As further evidence of her generous interest in our affairs, Mrs. Marrs bequeaths in her will the additional sum of two thousand dollars for the care and preservation of this valuable gift.

The retirement of Dr. Moore from the Presidency is a source of great regret to the Council and to the Society. Dr. Moore accepted with reluctance his election as Vice-President in 1925, to find himself within twenty-four hours called upon to assume the presidential duties upon the death of Mr. Lord. At great personal sacrifice and at the expense of certain important tasks to which he was deeply committed, he has served us conscientiously and with great ability for the past two years. His administration has been one of achievement in which real progress has been made without disrespect to the fine old traditions of the past.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII, Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report made up to April 1st, 1927.

In addition to the Building Fund, the Special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty-nine in number having been increased by the William B. H. Dowse Fund, for the publication of the Journals of the House of Representatives, consisting of $20,000 par value New York, New Haven and Hartford 6% bonds, the Grenville H. Norcross Fund of $10,000 established under the will of Mrs. Kingsmill (Laura Norcross) Marrs, the income only to be used in the maintenance, upkeep and care of the Society's property and collections, and another fund of $2,000, also established under the will of Mrs. Marrs, the income only to be used in the care and preservation of the Library of Kingsmill Marrs which Mrs. Marrs has given to the Society.

There was added to the principal of the Adams Fund $883.93 from the sale of publications. Also there was a gift of $50.00 from Mr. Francis R. Hart for general purposes.

The Building Fund was increased by a donation of $250.00 from Mrs. Richard M. Saltonstall.

A list of the securities now on hand follows and shows:

Bonds, par value	$459,000.00
Stocks, " "	192,300.00
Savings Bank accounts	1,387.49
	$652,687.49

There have been very few changes in the Investments, those taking place being caused mainly by the fact that bonds have been called and the proceeds reinvested.

I wish to express my appreciation of the co-operation shown by members of the Finance Committee in regard to all matters of investment.

ALLAN FORBES,
Treasurer.

INVESTMENTS

Schedule of Bonds

American Sugar Refining Co.	6%	1937	$15,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1960	10,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. Adj.	4	1995	9,000.00
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.	4	1959	3,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R.	4	1951	10,000.00
Belgium, Kingdom of	7½	1945	9,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	5	1939	10,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	5	1942	8,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	5	1938	10,000.00
Boston & Maine (new)	4½–5s	1944	6,000.00
Boston & Maine	4s–5s	1942*	9,000.00
Central Georgia Pr. Co., 1st Mortg.	5	1938	10,000.00
Chicago Jct. Ry. & Union Stock Yards	6	1940	10,000.00
Cleveland Shore Line	4½	1961	10,000.00
Columbus Elec. & Pr. Co.	5	1927	5,000.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5	1963	10,000.00
Con. Gas, El. Lt. & Pr. Co. (Baltimore)	6	1949	10,000.00
Dedham Water Co.	5	1935	5,000.00
Denmark, Kingdom of	6	1942	10,000.00
Detroit-Edison Co.	5	1933	10,000.00
Duquesne Light Co.	6	1949	10,000.00
Edison El. Ill. Co. of Boston	4½	1928	5,000.00
Florida Power & Light Co. 1st Mortg.	5	1954	10,000.00
Home Tel. & Tel. Co. of Spokane	5	1936	20,000.00
Int. Paper Co. 1st Ref. Com. Class "A"	5	1947	10,000.00
Long Island R. R.	4	1949	6,000.00
Massachusetts Lighting Co.'s	7	1930	10,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel Co.	5	1932	10,000.00
New York Central & H. R. R. R.	4	1934	15,000.00
New York Central Lines	5	1935	5,000.00
New York Central Lines	5	1936	5,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co.	6	1948	20,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5	1931	5,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R.	5	1946	10,000.00
Pacific Gas & Elec. 1st & Ref.	5½	1952	10,000.00
Pacific Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1937	10,000.00
Pere Marquette R. R.	5	1956	15,000.00
Quincy Market C. S. & W. Co. 1st Mtge.	5½	1946	10,000.00
Railway & Light Sec. Co.	5	1946	5,000.00
Rio Grande Western R. R.	4	1939	5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5	1929	5,000.00
Shawinigan Water & Power Co.	6	1950	12,000.00
United Elec. Securities Company	5	1936–42	18,000.00
United States Steel Corporation	5	1963	9,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	10,000.00
Western Union Tel. Co.	5	1938	10,000.00
Wilmington City Elec. Co.	5	1951	5,000.00
Winnipeg, City of	6	1946	15,000.00
Par value			$459,000.00

* In exchange for Fitchburg R. R. bonds.

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

American Glue Co. com.	25	SHS.	$ 2,500.00
American Smelting & Ref. Co., pfd.	75	"	7,500.00
American Sugar Refining Co., pfd.	50	"	5,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	60	"	6,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. pfd.	158	"	15,800.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	35	"	3,500.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Class A	25	"	2,500.00
Boston Real Estate Trust	6	"	6,000.00
Boston Wharf Co.	125	"	12,500.00
Chicago Jct. Ry. & Union Stock Yards, pfd.	150	"	15,000.00
Cincinnati Gas & Elec. Co.	10	"	1,000.00
Consolidated Gas, El. Lt. & Pr. Co., (Baltimore)	50	"	5,000.00
Duquesne Lt. & Water 7% 1st pfd.	30	"	3,000.00
Electric Bond & Share Co., pfd.	50	"	5,000.00
General Electric Co., com., no par	100	"	
General Electric Co., special stock	10	"	100.00
Kansas City Stock Yards Co. pfd.	302	"	30,200.00
Merchants National Bank of Boston	85	"	8,500.00
Old Colony R. R. Co.	25	"	2,500.00
Pacific Mills	400	"	40,000.00
Puget Sound Pr. & Lt. Co. pfd.	52	"	5,200.00
Puget Sound Pr. & Lt. Co., com.	5	"	500.00
Puget Sound Pr. & Lt. Co., p. pfd.	10	"	1,000.00
Second National Bank of Boston	50	"	5,000.00
Southern Pacific Co.	45	"	4,500.00
State Street Exchange of Boston	5	"	500.00
United Fruit Co. no par*	250	"	
Western Union Tel. Co.	40	"	4,000.00
Par value	2228		$192,300.00

SCHEDULE OF SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNTS

M. A. Parker Fund (Provident Inst. for Savings)	$1,226.68
Brattle Street Church Model Fund (Boston Five Cents Savings)	160.81
	$1,387.49

RECAPITULATION

Bonds, par value.	$459,000.00
Stocks, par value	192,300.00
Savings bank accounts	1,387.49
	$652,687.49

* 100 shares of par value of $100 each exchanged April 15, 1926, for 250 shares without par value.

Balance Sheet, March 31, 1927

Assets:		
Funds and the Income of Funds:		
Cash		$ 18,942.33
Investments:		
Bonds	451,536.16	
Stocks	219,826.01	
Savings bank accounts	1,387.49	672,749.66
Building Fund:		
Cash	826.26	
Bonds	31,794.34	
Stocks	1,387.50	34,008.10
		$725,700.09
Liabilities:		
Funds, principal	$622,749.26	
Funds, accumulated income	68,942.73	691,691.99
Building Fund		34,008.10
		$725,700.09

Building Fund

Cash on hand March 31, 1926		$547.86	
Gift:			
Mrs. Richard M. Saltonstall		250.00	
Received from interest:			
Coupons	1,285.00		
Dividends	45.00		
Accrued on Standard Milling Co. bonds	50.00		
On deposit	34.07	1,414.07	
Securities sold, matured or called:			
$2000 Standard Milling Co. 6's, 1927		2,010.00	$4,221.93
Securities bought:			
60 Amer. Tel. & Tel. Co. rights @ $6.	360.00		
Subscription, 10 shares Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.	1,027.50		
$2000 Swift & Co. notes 5%, 1932	1,987.50	3,375.00	
Interest:			
Accrued on Swift & Co. notes		16.67	
Commission on purchase		4.00	$3,395.67
Cash on hand March 31, 1927			826.26
			$4,221.93

BUILDING FUND, INCOME ACCOUNT

Income:		
Gift:		
Mrs. Richard M. Saltonstall		$ 250.00
Received from interest	$1,414.07	
Less accrued interest on securities bought	16.67	
	1,397.40	
Loss on sale of investment securities	27.00	
	1,370.40	
Less brokerage on securities bought	4.00	1,366.40
Net addition to Building Fund		$1,616.40

EXHIBIT I

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Balance, March 31, 1926		$645,094.66
Acquired by purchase or by gift:		
$11,000 United Elec. Securities Co. 42nd series 5's 1956	$10,670.00	
5 shares Gen. Elec. Co. com. no par	402.25	
95 shares Gen. Elec. Co. com. no par	7,654.63	
$10,000 Quincy Mkt. C. S. & W. Co. 1st Mortg. 5½'s 1946	10,000.00	
$10,000 Florida Pr. & Lt. Co. 1st Mortg. 5's 1954	9,400.00	
$10,000 Central Georgia Pr. Co. 1st Mortg. 5's 1938	9,950.00	
$10,000 International Paper Co. 5's 1947	9,770.00	
45 shares Southern Pacific Co.	4,865.63	
$10,000 N. Y. N. H. & H. R. R. Co. 6's 1948	10,200.00	
$10,000 N. Y. N. H. & H. R. R. Co. 6's 1948	10,650.00	
Total cost of securities acquired	$83,562.51	
Less securities sold, called, or matured:		
50 shares Nat'l Shawmut Bank of Boston	$11,900.00	
$1,000 United El. Securities Co. 28th series 5's 1939	1,000.00	
$1,000 United El. Securities Co. 29th series 5's 1939	1,000.00	
$9,000 United El. Securities Co. 32nd series 5's 1940	9,000.00	
$1,000 United States Steel Corp'n 5's 1963, called	1,000.00	
60 Am. Tel. & Tel. Co. rights sold @ $6 (to Bldg. Fund)	360.00	
$10,000 So. Cal. Edison Co. 6's 1944, called,	8,800.00	
$10,000 Conn. Lt. & Pr. Co. 7's 1951	9,500.00	
$10,000 Central Maine Pr. Co. 7's 1941	9,735.00	
$5,000 United El. Securities Co. 36th series, 5's 1940	5,000.00	
Total cost of securities sold	$57,295.00	
Net increase		26,267.51
Balance March 31, 1927		$671,362.17

EXHIBIT II

Individual Funds — Principal Accounts

Increases:		
Adams	$ 883.93	
W. B. H. Dowse Publication	20,850.00	
General	2,022.32	
Lodge	67.15	
Kingsmill Marrs	2,000.00	
Grenville H. Norcross	10,000.00	
J. L. Sibley Centenary	7,683.08	
Anonymous Centenary	664.79	
		$44,171.27
Decrease:		
Transfer from Waterston Library Fund Principal to Waterston Library Fund income		209.40
Net Increase		$43,961.87

EXHIBIT III

Balance accumulated income March 31, 1926		$ 72,709.72
Income during the year		49,289.95
		$121,999.67
Added to cumulative Funds * principal	$ 9,298.95	
Expenditures during the year	42,001.19	51,300.04
		$ 70,699.63
Add transfers charged to funds principal	$ 3,639.38	
Less additions to funds principal	$ 5,396.18	
Net decrease		1,756.80
Balance accumulated income, March 31, 1927		$ 68,942.83

EXHIBIT IV

Income Account

Credited to General Fund income:		
Publications	$ 608.34	
Photostats	7,126.38	
Duplicates	250.00	
Rebates	39.05	$ 8,023.77

* Including what were added to the principal of the Adams and Lodge funds.

Credited to other Funds income:		
Income from securities	35,516.98	
Less accrued interest on securities bought	384.03	
	35,132.95	
Interest on bank balances	214.90	
Interest on savings banks balances	58.90	
Royalties to be credited to Adams Fund	883.93	
Gains on securities sold	4,975.50	41,266.18
Total income		49,289.95
Deduct income added to cumulative funds:		
Sibley Centenary	7,683.08	
Anonymous Centenary	664.79	
Adams	883.93	
Lodge	67.15	9,298.95
Income available for operating expenses		39,991.00
Operating expenses charged against income		42,001.19
Decrease in Accumulated income:		
Excess of operating expense over income		2,010.19
Transfers so far as chargeable to Funds income		5,396.18
Total decrease		$ 7,406.37

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Bindery:			
Salary		$1,365.00	
Supplies		37.58	$ 1,402.58
Binding:			
of books		136.50	
of photostat positives		49.10	185.60
Building:			
Cleaning		619.45	
Elevator, Otis service, etc.,		73.30	
Engineer		1,589.59	
Fuel		1,261.00	
Furniture		115.30	
Insurance, general liability and boiler,		230.78	
Light and power —			
Electricity	$391.18		
Gas	125.88	517.06	
Repairs:			
Eastman heating control device	500.00		
Plumbing, drains, fittings	303.34		
Painting	372.00		
Unclassified	396.47	1,571.81	

Telephone	134.30	
Water	73.92	6,186.51
Cabinet purchases:		
Coins and medals	149.95	
Photographs, etc.	116.98	266.93
Expressage		227.94
Library purchases:		
Books	2,466.69	
Manuscripts	356.18	
Photostat negatives	153.98	2,976.85
Photostat:		
Salary	2,400.00	
Paper	2,386.77	
Developers, etc.	293.40	
Negatives	579.96	
Supplies, repairs, etc.	84.57	
Binding	512.20	6,256.90
Postage		157.50
Printing:		
Proceedings, Vol. 59	2,337.07	
" " 60	246.04	
Illustrations	300.75	
House Journals, Vol. 8	2,173.22	
Winthrop Papers	28.19	
Sundries	132.91	5,218.18
Salaries:		
Librarian and assistants	7,900.00	
Editor and assistant	9,180.00	17,080.00
Forward		$39,958.99
Forward		$39,958.99
Searching in the Public Record Office		60.78
Stationery		104.25
Treasurer's office:		
Auditing and accounting	$ 475.00	
Bond	25.00	
Book-keeper	1,000.00	
Safe Deposit Vault	60.00	1,560.00
Typing		80.84
Sundry items, unclassified and otherwise unaccounted for		236.33
Total operating expenses for the year		$42,001.19
Charged to Funds income, operating expenses		$42,001.19

EXHIBIT V

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS

	Balances Mar.31,'26	Income	Payments from Income	Income Balances Mar.31,'27	Principal of Funds
Adams	$ 2,777.58	$ 2,436.88	$ 3,175.00	$ 2,039.46	$ 37,506.63
Amory	630.61	199.62	85.00	745.23	3,000.00
Appleton	1,217.63	811.99	1,120.00	909.62	12,203.00
Bigelow	139.27	133.08	123.90	148.45	2,000.00
Billings	3,020.70	665.40	300.75	3,385.35	10,000.00
Boit	2,292.57	332.70		2,625.27	5,000.00
Brattle Street	53.84	6.97		60.81	100.00
Chamberlain	341.74	82.00	73.92	349.82	1,232.33
Dowse, (Thomas)	960.12	665.40	600.00	1,025.52	10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse		2,173.22	2,173.22		20,850.00
Ellis	701.84	2,107.11	1,849.50	959.45	31,666.66
Frothingham	1,035.12	199.62		1,234.74	3,000.00
General	605.06	14,865.71	14,945.64	525.13	57,738.66
Hunnewell	5,598.68	332.70	62.50	5,868.88	5,000.00
Lawrence	1,741.09	199.62		1,940.71	3,000.00
Lodge	184.80	268.62	6.00	447.42	5,113.35
Lowell	937.79	199.62	29.28	1,108.13	3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs					2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	1,314.26	667.50	685.54	1,296.22	10,031.50
Grenville H. Norcross					10,000.00
Parker	174.75	51.93	47.47	179.21	1,000.00
Peabody	4,119.41	1,472.06	226.22	5,365.25	22,123.00
Salisbury		332.70	301.48	31.22	5,000.00
Savage	1,824.21	399.24	411.63	1,811.82	6,000.00
Schouler	1,304.24	189.64	318.00	1,175.88	2,850.00
C. A. L. Sibley	526.63	1,497.78	1,379.92	644.49	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	20,213.13	8,056.47	14,095.86	14,173.74	121,077.00
Slafter	400.12	66.55	78.48	388.19	1,000.00
Charles Card Smith	1,241.83	998.10	1,250.00	989.93	15,000.00
Waterston No. 1	2,695.43	332.70	10.18	3,017.95	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	6,090.45	665.40	1,171.20	5,584.65	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	5,994.97	665.40	1,185.69	5,474.68	10,000.00
Waterston Library		261.85	260.22	1.63	578.81
R. C. Winthrop	906.07	798.48	720.00	984.55	12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	1,451.53	157.36	315.00	1,293.89	2,364.66
William Winthrop	1,408.05	332.70	367.58	1,373.17	5,000.00
Robert Winthrop	806.20	1,004.26	28.19	1,782.27	15,000.00
Total	$72,709.72	$43,630.38	$47,397.37	$68,942.83	$488,945.08
Less transfers		3,639.38	5,396.18		
Net income and payments from income		$39,991.00	$42,001.19		
Sibley Centenary		$*7,683.08			$123,148.67
Anon. Centenary		664.79			10,655.51
Adams		883.93			
Lodge		67.15			
Total income		$49,289.95			
Total funds					$622,749.26

* These four items are credited to principal of the respective funds.

Report of the Auditing Committee

Appointed a Committee to examine the Treasurer's Accounts and the State of the Funds of the Society, we submit the accompanying balance sheet with schedules showing amounts as of March 31, 1927, standing to the credit of the several funds, including the Building Fund, both principal and accumulated income.

All money transactions during the year April 1, 1926, through March 31, 1927, have been traced in the Treasurer's records and proved. The income in every case is properly accounted for, the payments are suitably vouched and entries appropriately made, and the balance of cash on hand has been verified.

We report further that on detailed examination the securities and savings bank books held by the Treasurer correspond with the investment record, with the Investment Account in the ledger, and with the statement of the Treasurer in his Annual Report.

Francis R. Hart,
George G. Wolkins,
Committee.

April 14, 1927.

Report of the Librarian

The additions to the Library during the past year have been: seventy bound volumes of manuscripts and a large number of single pieces; nearly one thousand printed volumes, over twelve hundred pamphlets, and nearly a hundred maps and broadsides, besides what has been made by the photostat. A description of some of these items has been given at the monthly meetings, of which the largest and most notable accessions are the papers of Horace Mann during his life work as an educator, from the estate of his son, the late Benjamin Pickman Mann, of Washington, D. C.; and the papers of our former associate, the late Amos A. Lawrence, from his daughter Mrs. Frederic Cunningham, telling the story of an industrious business life, and of his devotion to great causes of public and patriotic interest.

The publications of members always find a welcome place in the Library, and other historical works of interest to them as well. Information is desired as to the ownership of valu-

able material including manuscript collections which will be of importance for preservation here. Co-operation of this kind is earnestly invited. The helpful assistance already given is greatly appreciated in behalf of the Society, which has already received valuable gifts from several members.

The bindery continues to be a valuable asset to the Library. A variety of work requires attention, such as the care and treatment of manuscripts, books, pamphlets, newspapers. The special feature during the year has been the preparation for binding the latest additions to the Davis and Shattuck papers, which will soon be completed. The index of the Shattuck papers is now continuing on the twenty-first volume. There is an urgent need of another assistant in the bindery, because there is so much work to be done on the large accessions now on the shelves containing thousands of pieces of priceless value; and because much remains to be done to keep the general catalogue of the manuscripts abreast of the accessions. The demands in the use of the Library are so great that it is impossible with the present staff to keep all features of service at their best.

The rare possessions of the Library continue to be of increasing interest in historical research; and many persons have availed themselves of their use. The Library has furnished timely help to investigators on such subjects as the following: satire in early publications; early drama; prices of commodities; rise and depreciation of currency; works of the Mathers; John Cotton; social history before 1700; stage-coach transportation; postal service and the stage routes; patriotic music before 1865; Winthrop Sargent and the Northwest Territory; the Middlesex Canal; Franklin Pierce, the traditionalist; and commercial and consular relations with the East. Every effort is made to give the best aid possible to all who visit the Library for such purposes.

The greatest care is exercised to see that the limited amount of income for the purpose is used to the best advantage of the Library in its present method of collecting. The interest and helpful suggestions of the Library Committee are appreciated in studying the problem of the best course to pursue; and the question of a general policy in directing the growth of the Library will be carefully considered.

The increasing demand for more shelf-room makes the problem of care and arrangement of material day by day more difficult to solve, and the earnest hope is expressed that renewed effort should be made to raise the necessary funds for the proposed addition. The time has long since passed when the possessions of the Library could make a presentable appearance; and a grateful appreciation is due to my co-workers on the Library staff for their successful efforts in making the collections serviceable under many trying conditions.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE,
Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

The additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings*.

Dr. Storer, Curator of Coins and Medals, reports that there have been 587 accessions, including twenty-six pieces of Massachusetts, and thirty of paper money.

There are now in our collection 1991 pieces relating to Massachusetts, far more than have ever before been brought together in any one collection.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS,
Cabinet-Keeper.

Mr. MAYO read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET

The Committee appointed to examine the property of the Society in charge of the Librarian and the Cabinet-Keeper met at the Building on April 7, and with the assistance of Mr. Tuttle and Dr. Storer made a careful survey of the Library and the Cabinet.

The Society's collection of coins and medals is admirably housed in a modern, fireproof case which seems to combine perfectly the three essentials: safety against fire or theft, economy of space, and ease of display. Similarly the set of steel files containing maps and engravings leaves little to be

desired from any point of view. It is clear that these possessions are receiving adequate attention and care and that any item can be produced with a minimum of time or of effort.

Turning next to the Library your Committee spent much time in inspecting the stack in which most of the Society's remarkable collection of manuscripts is preserved. Conditions here are not ideal, but in all probability they are as good as can reasonably be expected in the absence of unlimited funds for the purpose of arranging, mounting, and cataloguing. At first glance it seemed unfortunate that some of the older volumes — the Belknap papers, for instance — should present so dilapidated an appearance, but it is, of course, more important that time and money should be spent upon encasing and cataloguing more recent acquisitions than upon repairing the binding of those already made useful and easily accessible to investigators. The volume-like portfolios now used by the Librarian for classifying and enclosing unbound papers received especial commendation. Likewise the modern method of mounting manuscripts in volumes which are much less bulky than those which were the rule in earlier times was noted as a distinct improvement. The shelf-arrangement of the collections, which is not alphabetical but according to the most significant period covered by the manuscripts, is open to question; but it seems probable that this system, now established and accepted, should not be changed unless experience proves that it is a handicap to the student. Although in general the stack and its contents give the impression of security rather than of perfect order, this impression is to a certain extent inevitable in a repository containing bound volumes of manuscripts, papers temporarily enclosed, and bundles of material awaiting examination and classification — not to mention printed books which because of lack of space cannot be housed elsewhere.

The Waterston library, the Dowse library, and the stacks on the third floor were visited in turn. In the reports of earlier committees much has been said of the need of an annex which would provide room for a suitable stack. Obviously this need is greater to-day than ever before; but until an addition to the building can be made, might it not be advisable to install a small stack in the middle of the Exhibition Hall on the

ground floor? Also a table or two near the windows where members could study or write? The unusual beauty and dignity of the Hall prevented your Committee from forming a definite opinion on this point; yet the need of space for books and the lack of convenient nooks for reading and taking notes must be felt by all who are in the habit of using the Library.

In closing this report the Committee wishes to express its appreciation of the spirit in which the officers concerned cooperated with it in this examination of the property entrusted to their care.

LAWRENCE S. MAYO, *Chairman,*
ALBERT MATTHEWS,
CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

April 11, 1927.

Mr. HAROLD MURDOCK presented the report of the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year and a ballot being taken the following were elected:

President.

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT.

Vice-Presidents.

HENRY LEFAVOUR.
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS.

Recording Secretary.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Treasurer.

ALLAN FORBES.

Librarian.

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Members-at-Large of the Council.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON.
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON.
FRANCIS RUSSELL HART.
FREDERIC WINTHROP.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN.

Colonel BANKS read a paper on

THE OFFICERS AND CREW OF THE MAYFLOWER, 1620–21

In his account of the end of the voyage of the *Mayflower* Bradford wrote: "Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean."

In dealing with the safe passage of this ship on her outward and return voyages across the Atlantic the historian of the present generation requires something more definite than the expression of religious fervor to account for her successful navigation. Human hands piloted her across these uncharted ocean wastes, and human hands maintained her in seaworthy condition. This paper is intended to be a memorial to record in compact form the officers and crew of the *Mayflower* whose names have been salvaged from various sources, manuscript and printed, known, and unknown, to the public.

As far as the information of the writer extends, there exists neither a roster of the officers and sailors of the *Mayflower,* nor any published attempts to assemble comprehensive facts bearing on the identity of these men, beyond casual mention of them in connection with the general subject of the voyage itself. In the Society's exhaustive edition of Bradford's *History of Plimmoth Plantation* the editor said: "Not much is known of the composition of the crew and the distribution of titles and functions among the members."[1] When it is re-

[1] I. 167.

membered that Bradford only named the Captain of the ship as " Mr. Joans " it will be seen that any effort to reconstruct the personnel must be attended with unusual difficulties. It is only in recent years that the full name of " Mr. Joans " has been determined beyond dispute.

Primarily, it must be observed that the ship itself was a small vessel of about two hundred tons burthen, and based upon the requirements of a merchant vessel her crew could not have been very large in numbers. It is to be considered, however, that this Pilgrim voyage was not a commercial one, where freight was chiefly concerned, but a voyage carrying human freight numbering a hundred persons as " passengers," men, women and children, including their subsistence for the voyage as well as ashore, and after arrival, their indispensable domestic utensils and whatever other necessaries such an expedition required. The crew had to be fed on the return voyage, as well as for the time spent at the destination in New England, a combined period of nine months from departure to return home. The provisions consisted of salted beef, vegetables, butter, bread, etc., packed in barrels, and hogsheads of beer were carried as an anti-scorbutic, as well as a food and drink. The stowage of this cargo of hogsheads and barrels for a long and tempestuous voyage required an extra number of men, including a cooper, to ensure its safety and preservation, while the control and policing of the passengers called for additional men for a similar reason. Men might become mutinous and require restraint; or the women and children panic-stricken in storms, endangering themselves and the vessel if left without control. It is therefore necessary in a synthetic restoration of this crew to admit the need of numbers larger than ordinarily required for the *Mayflower* in her usual occupation as a wine ship trading between England and the Mediterranean ports.

Her master, Christopher Joanes, of Rotherhithe, Surrey, had been for many years a quarter owner and Captain of her, in this trade, and we may be certain that his personal interest in her, and his previous successful management of her on the ocean peculiarly fitted him for this great Atlantic adventure as a passenger ship. It is quite certain that he had in the recent past braved Arctic storms in the whaling business, and had

gained some experience in long deep sea voyages. It is also certain that he selected for his aids in this voyage such men as could be then obtained, who had previously sailed to this coast. Of his personal history a few facts come from the Admiralty records of England, and it is possible to add some definite particulars of his life from other sources. It is provable that he was connected with the *Mayflower* from 1609 to 1622 when death ended his career. It is further known that in 1611 he was called "of Harwich Master of the *Mayflower*," and it is a fair conclusion that he was a resident, at least, if not a native of that place. Whether he was the Christopher Jones who on December 23rd, 1593, married Sarah Evritt of that parish is open to question. It cannot be pressed as a certainty, for it was not until eighteen years later that we find the beginning of a record of baptisms of his children, possibly by a second wife, as his widow was named Joan, not Sarah. About 1611 he must have removed to Rotherhithe, a parish in Surrey, on the south side of the Thames, opposite the present London Docks and Stepney. In the church registers of St. Mary are found the following entries of baptisms of his children: Roger, December 15, 1611; Christopher, March 13, 1614; Thomas, May 4, 1617; and Grace, February 28, 1619–20. From August, 1620, to June, 1621, we know he was engaged on the historic voyage to New England. In about a twelve-month he was dead, and the record of his burial on March 5, 1621–22, is to be found in the register of the same parish. The probate records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on August 26, 1622, show that letters of administration on the estate of Christopher Jones, mariner, "de Redriffe (i.e. Rotherhithe), in com. Surrey," were granted to Joan Jones, his relict. It is not beyond the probabilities that his death, in early middle life, was due to the hardships and malnutrition suffered by all during the first winter. We can now draw up a roster of the officers and crew:

Captain Christopher Jones.

MASTER MATES

John Clarke, *Pilot*.
[Andrew] Williamson.
Robert Coppin, *Pilot*.
John Parker.

GOVERNOR

Christopher Martin.

SURGEON

Doctor Giles Heale.

QUARTERMASTERS

(Probably four, of whom three died after arrival; names unknown.)

COOKS

(Perhaps two, as it is known that one died; names unknown.)

GUNNER

(One died; name unknown.)

COOPER

John Alden.

BOATSWAINS

(Number unknown; one died.)

This comprises the known official roster and the names of those who occupied the several positions.[2]

While some facts of interest about each one have been gathered, yet they are far from being complete records of these officers, and they are here assembled to make the presentation of their stories as full as possible.

JOHN CLARKE, *Mate and Pilot.* From information obtained in the Archives at Seville and Simancas, Spain, it has been possible to identify this officer as mate and pilot. He had sailed from London with Sir Thomas Dale for Virginia and was there taken prisoner by a Spanish caravel under the command of Don Diego de Molina, who took him to Habana, later to Seville, and in 1612 to Madrid. In the latter place he remained incarcerated four years with the object of extracting from him such information as they could relative to the Eng-

[2] See Smith, *An Accidence for Young Seamen,* London, 1626, for a description of duties appertaining to these several positions.

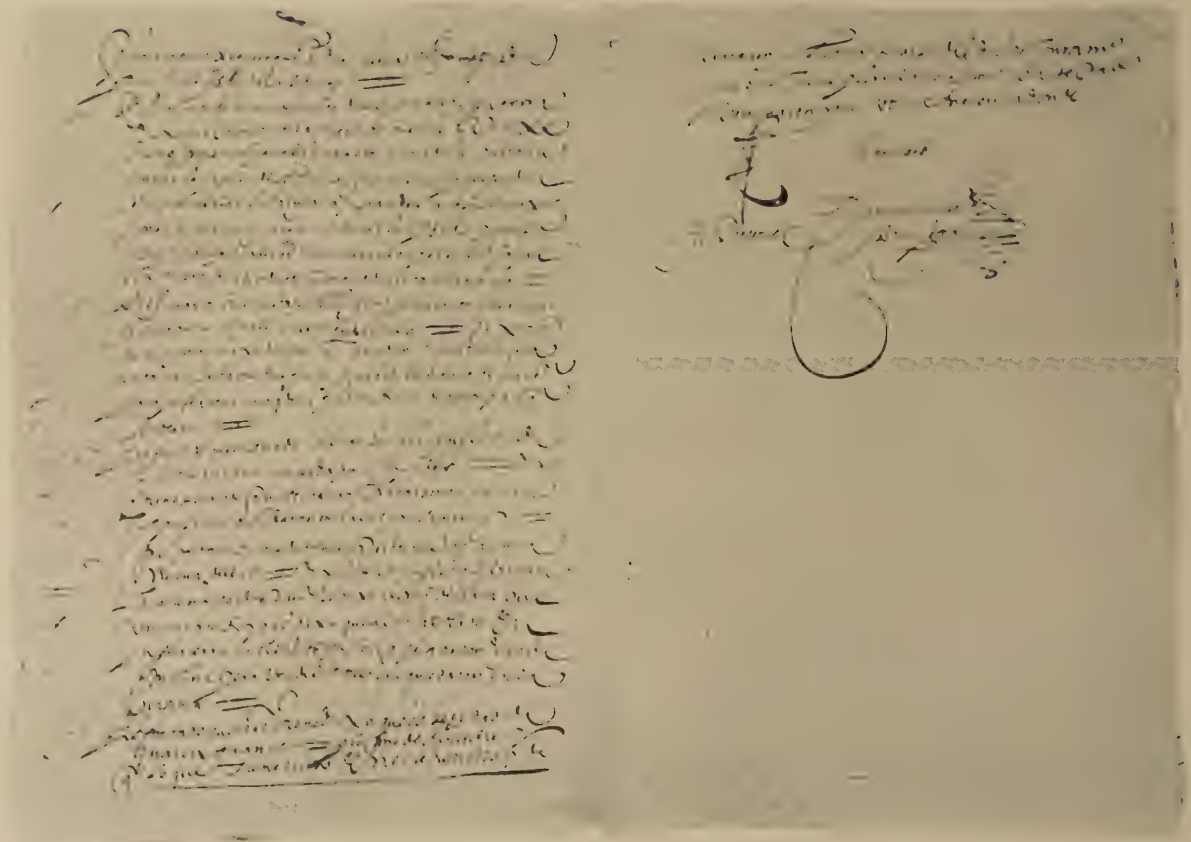
lish settlements in Virginia. In two formal examinations by his captors, the first, at Habana in 1611, he stated that he was thirty-five years old, born in London, (hence in 1576); the second, at Madrid in 1613, he stated that he was an "inhabitant" of London aged forty years, (hence born in 1573). This last reply was in answer to the question where he was born, or what was his residence. As the two ages are at variance the average of them gives thirty-seven years and six months, and thus carries the birth date back to 1674–75. In the same parish of St. Mary, Rotherhithe, the register contains the baptism of a John Clarke on March 26, 1575, a date so close as to fit the age of John Clarke, Mate of the *Mayflower*. It is known that he was associated with Captain Jones some years prior to the 1620 voyage. Clarke carried cattle from Ireland to Virginia in 1619 and for this and other services was granted land there. Again he made a voyage thither with Daniel Gookin, arriving there April 10, 1623, and died soon after in that colony.[3]

[ANDREW] WILLIAMSON, *Master's Mate*. I offer this "mariner" as the real person who has been the mystery man of 1620 in Plymouth, named by William Mullins as one of the overseers of his will in February, 1621, and again by Mourt as meeting Massasoit in March.[4] In both instances he is called "Mr. Williamson." After that he disappears, probably returning to England with the ship. Various guesses have been indulged by many writers as to his personality or business connection with the voyage, ranging from factor, supercargo, or merchant, to the fanciful theory that he was the son of William Brewster, masquerading as "Williamsson," the Dutch way of indicating descent.[5] While I have only my own guess to add, yet it seems simpler than those already enumerated. The *Mayflower* had a "Governor" (Christopher Martin), besides the Captain to represent the owner's and merchants' interests, and it is not probable that a second "supercargo" would be added to crowd the already plethoric passenger list and strain the limited accommodations. As will be

[3] *American Historical Review*, XXV. 448–479; *cf.* Brown, *Genesis*, loc. cit; Prince, *New England Chronology*.

[4] *Mourt's Relation* (ed. Dexter), 93.

[5] *Leyden Records*, 1920, preface.



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shown, Martin was all the supercargo required for a voyage that was not chartered for freighting purposes, and it is clearly established that he did such duties as would be expected of such an official under these unusual circumstances.

As one of the mates Williamson might well be called " Mr " (master), as also for his personal qualities, for the Pilgrims were democratic in their human distinctions. I therefore suggest that he was the Andrew Williamson, later Master's Mate of the ship *Palsgrave,* whose will is found, recorded in 1629, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, (Ridley 5), where all wills of mariners, dying *" in partibus transmarinis "* were proved. He is probably identical with Andrew Williamson of Limehouse, Stepney, (London), mariner, who was married to Rebecca Dunne, October 4, 1625, at St. Dunstans. The designation " mariner " indicated a Master of a ship, as distinguished from " sailor " or " seaman."

Robert Coppin, *Master's Mate.* The little that we know about this officer, who acted as Pilot, is to be read in Bradford's *History,*[6] from which we learn that he had visited New England a year or so before, and thought he had been in Plymouth harbor previously. This proved to be an error, as on the exploring expedition in which he took part he nearly piloted it to disaster. I can not add anything to his personal identification.

Thomas [John] Parker, *Mate.* As far as I know this is a hitherto unplaced officer of the ship, although the evidence supporting the claim that he was one of the mates of the *Mayflower* is in the files of the Superior Court of Massachusetts as part of the documents in an appealed land suit in the Province of Maine. Technically the case was Clark and Lake *vs* Stimpson and related to the ownership of property on the Sagadahoc River, and has nothing whatever to do with the *Mayflower* or, her passengers, or crew. The deponent, Major John Phillips of Charlestown, was a man of high social and political standing in that town, the son of Col. John Phillips, Treasurer of the Province (1632–1726), also of like eminence in his day. Major Phillips was called upon to give evidence concerning his knowledge of that region and the ownership

[6] I. 109, 167, 173.

of the property in litigation. His deposition reads as follows (italics mine):

CHARLESTOWN Nov'r 20, 1750.

John Phillips of Charlestown aged about seventy six years Testifys and Saith that at the age of Twelve years he went with his Father John Phillips to Sagadahock alias Parkers Island, that his Father carryed on a Fishery at Sagadahock Rock or Island had a Wharehouse and Fish Stage and that ther were a great many Houses and fish stages on said Rock or Island which is parted from Sagadahock alias Parkers Island by a Channell of about one hundred Feet wide, that Sagadahock had the name of Parkers Island given to it from one Thomas Parker [7] who as said John Phillips was Informed *was Mate of the first ship that came from England with the Plymouth People* and was Uncle to my father John Phillips and father to Thomas Parker who then lived on Parkers Island, that John Parker Brother to the last Thomas Parker lived opposite to Arrowsick Island on the Western side which side was called Kennebeck Side and he always understood that the River Kennebeck Run to the sea or ocean and bore the same name quite down to the Ocean, That he hath been there severall times since in particular when Lieut Governor Taylor had the Command of the Province and further saith not.

JOHN PHILLIPS.

The chronology of this deposition is as follows: born in 1676, the deponent went to Sagadahoc, Maine, in 1688 with his father and there met a great-uncle (his father's uncle), who would be in the generation of his grandfather, that is born about 1600, of the right age to be a junior mate. Parker's Island is now a part of Georgetown, Maine, and descendants of John Parker were living there at the time of the Revolution. Doubtless there are people of his name and blood who might properly claim descent from this *Mayflower* mate.

It may be asked, what reason can be given for interpolating this reference to an event entirely foreign to the subject mat-

[7] It is necessary to "Edit" the name of Thomas out and replace it by John. The island derived its name from John Parker the father of Thomas and not from the latter. The deponent in giving his recollections of the family confused the name of John and Thomas as his great uncle. Very few persons can be trusted to name correctly their grandfather's brothers, while they can recall facts which were associated with their lives.

ter of the deposition? To any one who has read many chancery and ecclesiastical depositions in the early English Courts the explanation is obvious. It was an ancient custom, sanctioned by centuries of legal practice, for a deponent to strengthen the plausibility of his testimony by relating some collateral circumstance which caused him to remember the particular facts he is relating. In this case deponent tells why he remembers his great-uncle, because he knew him as he was known to others, as "mate of the first ship that came from England with the Plymouth People." It was a part of the lore of that sea-coast settlement. As early as 1744 interested people were telling what they had heard about Mary Chilton and her leap ashore on the famous Rock, and "Elder" Faunce had been informing that generation about the Rock itself. It was not far from the Centennial of the Landing, and Phillips was adding his mite to the details of the historic voyage.

Christopher Martin, *"Governor"* (*Supercargo*). His home was in Billericay, a hamlet of Great Burstead, Essex, but it is probable that in 1620 he was a resident of London. He was chosen by the London Adventurers "to make provissions for the Vioyage," to keep the ship's accounts, and perform the usual functions of a supercargo, although he took his family with him, intending to settle in New England, having invested £50 in the company stock. He had married Mary Prower, a widow, a dozen years before this, and he with his step-son, Solomon Prower, had been summoned in April, 1620, by the ecclesiastical authorities of Great Burstead for contumacy in regard to the catechism. The Vicar charged that Martin had answered him "crosslie." Cushman wrote of like show of temper on the voyage: — "He dominires," said Cushman; "also he so insulteth over our poore people, with shuch scorne and contempte, as if they were not good enough to wipe his shoes. It would break your hart to see his dealing, and the mourning of our people." [8]

Martin, his wife, and step-son, Solomon Prower, all perished in the "General Sickness," soon after arrival.

Giles Heale, *Ship's Surgeon.* In a previous communication I laid before the Society documents identifying this offi-

[8] Bradford, *History*, I. 142.

cer,[9] and it is only necessary here to state, briefly, for a complete record of the personnel, that he was made a Freeman of the Barber Surgeons Company of London in 1619, after serving an apprenticeship with Edward Blaney. He was therefore a young practitioner of surgery and medicine in 1620 when he was employed to accompany the ship the next year. On his return he practised his profession in Drury Lane, parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, until 1653 when he died. His will shows that he left no children.

JOHN ALDEN, *Ship's Cooper*. The little we know of this member of the ship's personnel is found in Bradford's roster of the "Passenger's" which, as is understood, included servants, several seamen and children, without parents, possibly transported under an existing law. This is what Bradford said of him: "John Alden was hired for a cooper, at South-Hampton, wher the ship victuled; and being a hopefull yong man, was much desired, but left to his owne liking to go [back] or stay when he came here."[10] Of course he was "hired" by the Captain or Governor, as the Pilgrims had nothing to do with the management of the ship, its officers, or crew. Probably picked up on the water-front where cooper shops were always located for the convenience of shipping, he was hired to look after the hogsheads of beer and barrels of food, to keep them from injury and leaking during the long and stormy voyage. Such evidence as to his origin as has been found by me indicates that he was the son of a widowed mother, his father being a small artisan. As he is an ancestor of mine I have no wish to over-state his social status to emphasize genealogical pride. Bradford concludes his notice of Alden, free to go or stay, with this brief ending, "but he stayed." Doubtless his decision can be connected with the famous courtship related in Longfellow's epic poem, of which he expected to be the prospective hero.

Sailors. Of the men "before the mast" the names of four only have come down to us, viz: John Alderton, Thomas English, William Trevor, and . . . Ely. The first two died in the winter. Alderton was probably from Ipswich. Trevor stated that he had made a voyage to this coast, in 1619, perhaps with

[9] Page 144, *supra*.

[10] Bradford, II. 400.

Coppin, was a Captain in 1632, and in 1650 was over here again.[11] Of the total number of men in the forecastle it is not possible to give a definite statement. On November 16, five days after coming to anchor, Captain Jones urged the Pilgrims to select a place for "habitation," and according to Morton, "sixteen of their men tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places."[12] Captain John Smith, using information probably derived from Winslow, states the incident as follows: "Master Jones our Master with foure and thirty men, also went up and downe in the frost and snow two or three daies in the extremity of the cold but could find no harbour."[13]

These are the only known references so far found relating to numbers in connection with the crew. Read together these statements do not conflict. Morton was stating the number of volunteers, while Smith gave the number actually taken by Captain Jones on this expedition. Smith was contemporary authority, writing shortly after the Landing, and must be more correct. As the expedition involved an absence of several days from the ship, it is a fair statement to say that at least half as many as went were left behind to care for the ship in case of bad weather, to guard against attacks by the natives, and as a police force to maintain order. Adding to this a proper ratio of officers to stand watch duty, it is probable that the full roster of officers and crew numbered fifty. This figure is not too liberal, though it makes a total of about 150 persons on board the *Mayflower,* including the passengers. Little is recorded of these seamen who did their part in navigating the ship safely across the Atlantic. Bradford has not one kind word for them, and makes the inevitable complaint of their ungodliness and lack of sympathy with the religious views of his associates. One of them died railing at the church company and its doctrines, but in the end when the "general sickness" laid so heavy a toll on the passengers, the

[11] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register,* XIX. 248. Cushman in a letter of February, 1623, wrote of this seaman: "William Trevore hath lavishly tould but what he knew or imagined, of Capewock, Mohiggan and the Narigansetts." (Bradford, I. 270.) Probably he was with Capt. Thomas Dermer in his voyage in 1619, when he touched at all these places, including Plymouth.

[12] *New England's Memorial,* 16.

[13] *Generall Historie,* VI. 233.

crew suffered in like proportion. Bradford records these casualties "of the ablest of them" thus: "allmost halfe of their company dyed before they went away, and many of their officers and lustyest men, as the boatson, gunner, 3 quartermaisters, the cooke, and others."[14]

Invalidism persisted throughout the Winter and Spring, "many lay sicke and weake"; wrote Bradford, "the Mr durst not put to sea till he saw his men begine to recover and the hart of Winter over." It was not until the first week of April, 1621, that Captain Christopher Jones "durst put to sea" with half a complement of officers and men. It cannot be doubted that when her anchor was weighed, sails set and her prow headed out of Plymouth harbor, those hardy Englishmen, survivors of a frightful experience, were glad to turn their faces east and their backs on the ghastly scenes of the past winter. It may be doubted whether any one of them envied the little remnant of the Pilgrim company their future prospects, even the immortal glory which future generations might accord them.

Although the salvage of names of the crew has been so meagre, yet it is possible that some of them may be embalmed in the following list. The Prerogative Court of Canterbury had probate jurisdiction over the estates of those dying "beyond seas." Generally speaking, sailors left little property, scarcely worth the attention of a formal settlement. In 1620 there were thirty estates of sailors administered, and thirty-nine in 1621 — the year the *Mayflower* returned; when relatives would ask for letters of administration. The list for 1621 follows:

RICHARD BANFEILD
THOMAS BRADSTOKE
JOSHUA BAYNBRIGGE
NICHOLAS BERRY
MAURICE BROWNE
RICHARD COTTON
GEORGE COCKIN
WILLIAM COOKE
SAMUEL CARTER
JOHN ENSOR
THOMAS EDWARDS
TANFIELD EVANS
SIMON FORTESCUE
FRANCIS FREESTON
ROGER GILL
RICHARD HEWETT

[14] Bradford, I. 196.

Francis Howard	Ambrose Sandell
Thomas Hudson	Thomas Specke
Joseph Myntell	Thomas Sares
Arthur Maynwaring	Francis Tipton
Thomas Martin	John Ward
Samuel Organcy	John Wilmarth
John Piddocke	Thomas Washer
Stephen Paramore	William Watkins
Thomas Richards	John Watts
Thomas Singleton	John West
Christopher Singleton	Robert Williams
Anthony Street	

It is more than probable that some of these persons were of the crew of the *Mayflower*.

Colonel Banks also presented to the Society photographs of the church and other places at Barton St. David, in Somersetshire, the English home of the ancestors of President John Adams.

Mr. Storey presented the following note on

Simeon Eben Baldwin

Simeon E. Baldwin was conspicuous among the lawyers of his generation as the embodiment of all that was best in the Puritans of New England. He had great ability, high principles, exceptional public spirit, untiring industry, thorough earnestness, and with all these great qualities, a certain seriousness which was almost austerity. Whether as a lawyer at the Bar, as Chief Justice of Connecticut, as Governor of that State, conspicuous among the founders of the American Bar Association and devoted to its interests, while he retained his health, he gave himself to the public service and left behind him a record of which any man might be very proud.

Such a man naturally won the respect and confidence of his fellows. When he spoke he was listened to with respect, and had great influence in any audience. He was effective in council, and while he lived he helped all the causes that he

espoused. He belonged to a generation of remarkable men, Charles Sumner, Charles W. Eliot, Carl Schurz, William G. Sumner, Judge Hoar, R. H. Dana, and others, but the standards of their day have changed, and for the present the force which they exerted is dormant. As each leaves us there remains an unfilled vacancy, and the world is poorer.

Mr. FORD read a paper on

SUMNER'S LETTERS TO GOVERNOR ANDREW, 1861

In reading, somewhat carelessly, the original letters written by Charles Sumner to Governor Andrew in the first months of 1861 I noticed some expressions that I did not remember to have seen in the printed *Works of Charles Sumner*. The *Works*, it will be recalled, were issued during his lifetime and ten of the fifteen volumes had his personal care. He wished in this "to be the executor of my own will" and even thought of retiring from public life and economizing to carry out the project. As editor he was free to change the text in any manner and to any degree, more free than any other editor could have been. He added extracts from letters and public journals where he wished to show the occasion or the effect of a speech or public paper. No objection could be made to such modifications and additions, even where they involved changes in the sense of the original expressions. He was acting entirely within his rights. In the larger number of speeches the original form can still be seen in the newspapers or *Congressional Globe*, but not always as delivered. A stenographic report can go wrong; the newspaper printers can fall down; and reporting and composition have pitfalls not to be foreseen. But personal letters are more difficult to follow because of the absence of the original. As a test I take this series of letters to Andrew, all written between January 8 and February 20, 1861, the only series in his *Works* honored by a separate division, and note the changes and omissions.

One circumstance, however, strikes me with surprise. There were nine letters in January and six in February. The last letter in the Andrew papers is that of February 20. In March there is only a half-sheet of a few lines, a question on John G. Palfrey for the postmastership of Boston; in April,

a single letter endorsing a candidate for office, written on the twenty-first at New York when on his way to Boston. Sumner remained in Washington until April 18, and between February 20 and that date much had happened — the arrival of Lincoln at the Capital, his inauguration, Cabinet and other appointments and the march of events at the South. Were none of these, with the mass of flying rumors, the flood of visitors seeking office or willing to set the administration right in its difficulties, self-constituted advisers, self-assured councillors and the inevitable quack politicians, god-given and competent to frame any certain remedy, from a compromise down to a new empire — were none of these subjects worthy of a letter to the Governor? "My dear Andrew," was the usual opening, "God bless you! Ever yours," the usual closing of the letters. To no one did Sumner write so freely and so frequently. Yet just at the moment of greatest interest the letters cease, not gradually but with a suddenness that provokes supposition. Did Sumner destroy the later letters? Or had he sensed a coldness in Andrew to his excited expressions?

Andrew's private letter-books begin May, 1861. Possibly, even probably, there was an earlier volume which had been partially used in his law-office. None of these law-time records exist. Andrew died in 1867 and Sumner began to edit his own *Works* in 1869. He must have borrowed the originals of his own letters from the Andrew family and much could happen. The tone of what has been printed was not balanced; on the contrary it is emotional, an agonized appeal to be firm, to reject compromise, to preserve the State from dishonor. With Andrew in the governor's chair these cries and appeals, in italics, small and full capitals, seem uncalled for. The mission of Everett with the monster petition from Massachusetts could excite no fear, for it was futile from the beginning. No one of political experience could give to it any weight whatever. One of the leading members of the committee to deliver it in Washington with justice thought it "rather indefinite and feeble," requiring the support of the best committee to be had. The fact that Everett and his roll of paper came from Massachusetts did not prove that Massachusetts was behind him. Quite the contrary, for the election of Lincoln had produced results that deprived Everett of even the

influence of his name. As to the attack on the personal liberty law in the State legislature, favored by Banks but not supported by Sumner, Andrew was competent to meet the situation, calmly and not hysterically, and he did so meet it.

The explanation of Sumner's changes of text, omission of paragraphs and possible suppression of letters, is to be found in his mentality. Long favored by a notable presence, fine voice and oratorical methods, carefully studied and used with great discretion, an abounding rhetoric which thrilled to the hearing but is cold to the reading, he had attained a prominent position in the public eye. He represented an exhibition rather than an influence of moral or political strength. Tested even by men of inferior gifts but sounder knowledge of affairs he stood isolated. His views were extreme — radical. Once convinced of the correctness of his opinion he was unchangeable. A small circle of followers worshipped him; a larger following took pride in his speeches — the tool of mob spirit. In such a surrounding he developed an egotism that was colossal — imposing. His character rested upon this outward praise and inward self-satisfaction. To oppose him was to be an enemy; an intimate friendship of a generation would be irrevocably snapped by a word, a doubt, or a contrary vote. Believing that he had mastered the heart of a policy he suspected those who hesitated to follow him of disloyalty to the idea, and that usually meant disloyalty to him. The egoist is ever suspicious. How can he be other, for his assumed superiority cuts him off from sources of information which would make good his defects and correct his errors while informing him. Even in the social intercourse at Washington he had few real intimates. Full man as he was, he was not receptive to the opinions of others, not open to arguments if they conflicted with his convictions, not bent by force of circumstances. He had the motive power of a radical reformer, but had so narrowed his action to his own sphere as to neutralize in good part his better qualities and opportunities.

Some of the differences in the text of these letters are due to copyist's errors. The last sentences of the letter of January 28 were mangled thus: Sumner wrote: "It is feared that the Departments will be seized and occupied as forts. What then can be done by the General's dragoons and flying artillery."

Both are good sentences. By the dropping of an " s " in the first we have printed the occupation of the " Department as forts," and in the second the available military force is made to consist of " the General, surgeons, and flying artillery," not a very formidable body. So in another letter we have the written " sincere preparations to defend the Capital " altered in print to " sincere propositions." Other differences arise from the use of another word, as where he described Buchanan's policy of " vacillation and treason " but changed " vacillation " to " surrender." Later he wrote that the President had been " trimming again " but he substituted " wrong " for trimming, aggravating the charge. Again, he wrote of concession to " offer or support," but makes it in print " propose or favor." The distinction is not very obvious, and his selection of alternative words is not always happy. He did surprise me, however, where he told Andrew to see that Massachusetts did not " imp the wings " of treason. I copied it " nip the wings " which with the negative would be nonsense. It is printed " imp " and that drove me to the dictionary, that of Oxford, where are found the meaning " to strengthen or improve the flight of " and, in its usual wealth of quotation, two possible sources for Sumner's remembrance of the word. Spencer in his Hymn of Heavenly Beautie wrote of

> Thence gathering plumes of perfect speculation,
> To impe the wings of thy high flying mynd. . . .

and Southey in the Lay of Laureate gives " My spirit imp'd her wings for stronger flight."

In his letter of February 6 he rather directly indicated one of his prejudices. " But do not be deceived by the *Sewardism* which sees nothing but peace and fraternity in the recent elections." He deprives the reader of his *Works* of the suggestion that he had in mind a particular person, and robs the sentence of color by changing " Sewardism " to " that fatal advice," thus also depriving Seward of the distinction of having given him a text. The names suggested by Sumner of fit persons to represent Massachusetts in the Peace Convention of February are not in the printed letter. Wishing only the firmest, men incapable of concession or compromise, he proposed Judge Allen, Judge Hoar, Richard Henry Dana, Erastus

Hopkins, Samuel G. Howe, Longfellow or Boutwell. The poet seems strangely out of place on such a mission and Andrew took only two of Sumner's list — Charles Allen and George S. Boutwell — adding John Z. Goodrich, Francis B. Crowninshield, Theophilus P. Chandler, John M. Forbes and Richard P. Waters, all inflexibles, and in so doing he hurt the feelings of Edward Everett, who happened to be in Washington at the time and thought he ought to have been one of the members. As an inflexible on concession Everett would have been a perfect failure. When the commissioners reached Washington in February Sumner wrote of them as "noble, true, good, columnar characters," but he had his doubt about the word "columnar" and omitted it in print. Like monumental it might be read the opposite to a compliment.

As to the omissions, some of them could not have been printed in 1873 if peace of mind is valued by an editor. I give them in chronological order. The following letter I do not find in print and its omission from the *Works* may have been due to the reference to Thurlow Weed, quite favorable as the judgment was:

WASHINGTON, 8th Jan., 1861.

MY DEAR ANDREW, — Your message is clear, strong and right. I feel happy that Massachusetts at last has found her voice.

I deplore every backward step, whether here or in Boston.

The cotton States are doomed. Even the compromisers, who have been here from New York, admit that nothing can be done to arrest them. They are trying on the tobacco States; I think in vain. *They will all go.*

Thurlow Weed came to see me Sunday evening with Seward. He admitted that he was "alone," found that he was "not welcome here," and that the Republicans had made up their mind to have no compromises. Good! I always like Mr. Weed when I see him; but he is a *politician* — not a *statesman.* I think we are in too deep water for him. True; we are now away from shore, and can only steer by the sun and stars — God given guides.

The President's change of policy disorganizes the traitors, who curse him as a "black Republican." Genl. Scott says the President's change occurred on the "2nd. Jan.; yes, Sir, since the 2nd. Jan. the President has done well."

If possible we must avoid civil war; indeed, to avert this dread calamity I will give up, if necessary, territory and State; but I will not give up our principles.

But the slave masters hurry to their doom.

Good bye! God bless you. Ever yours

CHARLES SUMNER.

The sense of insecurity here seems to have passed away. Had not something been done, I do not doubt that the Capital would have been taken — like the other posts in southern territory.

Virginia will go, and will carry with her Maryland and Kentucky.

There is intestine unrevealed trouble in Tennessee which I do not yet comprehend.

From the letter of January 18 (*Works*, v. 456) the following good hit was omitted:

Private. Ten Eyck of New Jersey said at one of our conferences that he should be glad to support the propositions brought forward by Seward. The latter at once said that what he had said was only for a speech; *he had no idea of bringing them forward;* that they would split the Republican party; that there were not *three* men on our side of the Senate who would support them. Do you remember the story of John Wilkes? "What!" said he, "do you take me for a Wilkesite — no such thing!" Ever yours.

In the letter of January 26 is found a further confidential statement by Attorney General Stanton, who "told me that the Commission appointed by Virginia to meet in Washington — to which Govr. Morgan [of New York] has responded with such ignorant surrender — was 'to constitute a Provisional Government, which was to take possession of the Capital and declare itself the nation.'" From the letters of February 8 and 10 have been cut some personal and historical references. They are directed squarely against Charles Francis Adams, though his name is not mentioned, and are sweeping in their condemnation and pretended moral superiority. He had put forward the New Mexico proposition, to test opinion.

One [of the Massachusetts Peace Commissioners], I am told, had heartily committed himself to the New Mexico proposition;

but he has disengaged himself and will act with the rest. That is the most dangerous because the most deceptive of all the pending propositions. As an abandonment of principle it seems to me hardly less effective than the Crittenden proposition. Of course, it is against our old Buffalo platform and the Chicago platform justly interpreted; and it proceeds on a most fallacious and demoralizing suggestion, belittling our cause, that the presence of twenty-four slaves is a small affair. *To sanction the enslaving of a single human being* is an act which cannot be called small, unless the whole moral law which it overturns or ignores is small.

This proposition, if pressed to a vote, will split our party, as no other party ever has been split. *Seward will not vote for it.* He will use it as a lure; BUT NOT VOTE *for it.* I deplore its introduction, and think of it constantly with tears. My constant hope is that events in their rapid march, may save us from any legislative action upon it, so that it may be dismissed to oblivion.

Pray, what is this Government worth, if held on such a condition, with the recognition of the right of secession? This alone is answer to it, even if it were not repugnant to the moral sense. This is the first time I have ever made any allusion in writing to that proposition. The innumerable letters which I have received on the subject have all been left unnoticed. I have trusted that my known character would save me from suspicion of any sympathy with it. But the surrender of one public man brings all others into distrust.

Confidential. In our Councils and conferences, the only question that gives trouble is the New Mexico proposition — *a fatal dismal mistake* — already the root of infinite discontent and bitterness, and destined, if pressed, to split the Republican party with a split such as no other party has had.

Why offer it? Nothing is gained by it. But everything is lost — our principles, the cause for which we have contended; while we leave unsettled *the first of all questions,* "Have we a Government?" What is this Government worth, if we are merely "tenants at will," to be turned out by any mad State?

Preston King has said nothing to any of his colleagues on S[eward]'s course; but he went at once to see him alone, threw his arms about his neck and burst into tears. S[eward] says he can make no more speeches. To C. F. A[dams], who quoted Lord Bacon, King said, that he liked better this remark of Lord B.: "When a good man begins to fall, where will he stop?" There was a smile, when he said, if Lord B. did not say this he ought to have said it.

The fact was that the Republican party was split into factions, a not unusual result of victory for a new party drawn from old organizations and not yet fused into a homogeneous mass. Seward, once regarded as a radical, had come to represent the conservative element; Chase, on his past record, was the radical leader; and Sumner by his rigid and violent demands could act wholeheartedly with neither. Not that he sought leadership of a party or faction, for he must have recognized his unfitness for such leadership; but he did want to direct and control what was done at Washington, and it must be a personal control. He had not even come into contact or a correspondence with the President-elect, to whom the country, North and South, naturally looked for a policy. Compare with Sumner's outbursts of language and denunciation Chase's statement of his compromise stand. Writing to Seward, January 11, 1861, he said:

> To me it seems all-important that no compromise be now made, and no concession involving any surrender of principles: but that the people of the slave States, and of all the States, be plainly told that the Republicans have no proposition to make at present; that when they have the power they will be ready to offer an adjustment, fair and beneficial to all sections of the country — that in the meantime all they ask of those who now have the power is, to uphold the Constitution, maintain the Union, and enforce the laws.

That was as constructive a programme as could be expected in the disorganized condition then existing.

No one could accuse Amos A. Lawrence of radicalism, for he was recognized as one of the bulwarks of conservatism in Massachusetts. He acted with Everett and Winthrop and wished the people to rise and demand Union and peace. In a speech delivered in February, 1861, he plainly showed his wish for compromise by catholic praise of the men whom Sumner was denouncing.

> How different the spirit of the noble old patriot Crittenden. "Here are my propositions," he says; "they are designed for conciliation. Alter them, destroy them: make what proposals you please, if you can make any that will appease these unnatural combatants. I have *no ultimatum*."

He is not alone. I believe, yes, I know that Mr. Seward stands ready as soon as the phalanx of his party can be moved, to march at its head and save the Government.

Mr. Douglas labors in this cause and he is exerting his great powers for the same end.

Adams of Massachusetts, worthy of his stock, has come nobly to the rescue and the approbation which hails him will encourage others to throw off the shackles of party and endeavor to save their country.

It is evident that in these first two months of 1861 Sumner was strongly wrought up against any concession or compromise and the position he took separated him from his colleagues and his friends. He refused to unite with the Massachusetts delegation in recommending that commissioners be sent from Massachusetts to the Peace Conference, though abstention would give strength to the enemy and open the door of the Conference to self-constituted, unofficial savers of the Union. He had no use for Seward after his speech of January 12, and he broke with Charles Francis Adams because of his speech of January 31. Seeking for a possible solution of the controversy, aiming to maintain the loyalty of the border States, and playing for time, so that there should be no outbreak before the coming into office of the new administration, they seemed to him to be concessionists, dangerous men, almost traitors. Sewardism and Adams' proposition became like poison to him and he lost no opening to strike at them.

Were his fears of yielding on the part of Massachusetts a pose? One state could not accomplish much save as an example, and he may honestly have entertained a belief that as an example Massachusetts would be followed up or down by other States and he thought upward the only safe course. Were his strident appeals for firmness evidence of a genuine apprehension or did they arise from jealousy and serve as a cover to attack the standing of others — Seward, or Adams, who seemed to stand in his light? The repetition and emphasis in underscored words and sentences, iteration of an injunction to disregard all else than what he believed, without offering any opportunity to move with changing conditions, do suggest limitations rather than insincerity. Absorbed in watching events he convinced himself that he was right. Once

attain that position the line between fanaticism and intelligent enthusiasm becomes confused.

Two witnesses of Sumner's condition at the time are at hand. Everett, who was not in the least sympathetic with him, or in fact with any Republican, that abhorrent party which had so rudely disturbed the conservative Whigs and taken their preserves in Massachusetts, talked with him on January 29 and noted: "He is under a state of morbid excitement approaching to insanity; says that neither Seward nor Corwin is acknowledged as a leader by the masses of the Republican party in either house. He has a magnificent project of the ulterior acquisition of Canada and a separation from the slave-holding States, unless they will consent to live in the Union on a Republican platform." The reference to living on a Republican platform may have been a touch of Everett, but the reference to Canada is a reminder of Sumner's later plan to have Great Britain cede Canada to the United States in settlement of the Alabama claims.

The second recorder is Charles Francis Adams, Jr., who was in Washington for a few days after February 20 and called on Sumner whom he knew well. He wrote to Governor Andrew: "In a long talk with Mr. Sumner today he repeatedly expressed the opinion to me that Mr. Seward had throughout the session been demented, that he is wholly ignorant of the true nature of the question and of the feeling of the South, and that he had acted throughout the Winter rather as a politician than as a statesman. Mr. Sumner seemed to speak however under a feeling and excitement which, it seemed to me, could not but in some degree obscure his judgment." In his *Autobiography* (p. 80) Mr. Adams relates the meeting at greater length and with greater force. He had heard that Sumner was excited, "but his manner and language amazed me. He talked like a crazy man, orating, gesticulating, rolling out deep periods in theatrical, whispered tones — repeating himself, and doing everything but reason. . . . He would reiterate: 'I am sure — I am certain — I see my way so clearly.'" Everett and the younger Adams agreed as to Sumner's excited and unrestrained talk, but after reading these genuine, undoctored letters to Andrew the explanation elaborated by Mr. Adams seems unnecessarily complex. If

Sumner had a definite plan to propose it is strange that some inkling of it was not conveyed to some one who talked with him. If he had none, or one too indefinite to be shared with another, his jealousy of others and their influence may offer a shorter explanation. He did not like the nomination of Charles Francis Adams to the London mission and made no advances of reconciliation; he meddled in and interfered with Seward's conduct of the Department of State and was one of the Senators who sought, in 1862, to have him put out of the Cabinet. An increase of responsibility sobered him, as is not unusual, and after he became chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs he changed to a state of reason. The temporary visitation offers a curious chapter and who could sense it either in Sumner's *Works* or in Pierce's *Memoir and Letters of Sumner?*[1] Suppression of evidence is a strange proceeding in and out of court and in history has rarely accomplished its intention.

JOHN A. ANDREW TO CHARLES SUMNER

[*Official head*] BOSTON, Feby. 6th, 1861

MY DEAR SUMNER, — Our Comm[issioner]s start to-day, appointed last Evening, notified by telegraph and by special messenger.

SEAL the within, and give it to Chief Justice Allen as soon as he arrives in Washington. Read it if you please.

Mr. Forbes and Mr. Waters are both good, noble, great hearted men, as you know. Dont let the Philistines reach them through any soft worded Delilah — but, don't say a word which might imply a doubt. *I* feel none whatever. I only wish to be full of watchfulness lest some deception might possibly be practised by the cunning upon men not likely to be suspicious.

Chandler is a rock, as you know; Crowninshield is another. He says: "*I'll eat no dirt for any one.*"

Boutwell and Goodrich are uncompromising — as I know from much conversation.

Ch. Jus. Allen is an Ajax always — in a great work; but not to

[1] "At such a period the steady courage of Sumner was of inestimable service in saving the country from the disaster of compromise and surrender." Pierce, *Memoir of Sumner*, IV. 13.

be roused only by great tasks or great opposition. I rely much on him.

Make Messrs. Wade, Foote, Fessenden, Trumbull — the Blairs are the strong willed and true men of the North West — etc., etc., visit them, at once and often. I hope you and Wilson, etc., etc. will surround our Commissioners with the best influences.

Ask *Montgomery Blair* for ME (I *dare* take the LIBERTY) to invite them all to his house at once, and let them meet the best men. Get them together at your room.

Fessenden ought to give them much attention. I rely on all things being done to keep them all as well informed as possible. If *these* seven men come home and report in Faneuil Hall that New England must stand ALONE — ALONE — we can stand there. I have arranged the men on careful thought and clear conviction, independent judgment and under a sense of the responsibility attaching perhaps to the most weighty act of my life. In great haste, ever yours.

J. A. ANDREW

P. S. The admission of New Mexico is such that can be agreed to at the very most. I think Adams' speech a great one, most ingenious and carefully reflected, most damaging to our enemies.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR. TO JOHN A. ANDREW

WASHINGTON, Friday, 22 Feby., '61

MY DEAR SIR, — I this evening received your favor of the 20th informing me of the pardon of Michael Murphy. Allow me, Sir, to congratulate the Commonwealth, the convicts and, not least, myself, that, after six months of floundering among the mysteries and intricacies of red tape, I have found one official who apparently regards despatch of business as an accomplishment not undesirable. I had begun to despair of ever accomplishing anything for Murphy and believe I should have tarried in despond for the remaining part of my prisoner's term, but for my fortunate accident in getting into your office last Monday. As it is, I doubt whether any of the citizens of Boston enjoyed their holiday today more than he who owed it to your energy and kindness. May he use his liberty well and justify your clemency as well as my exertions.

I have been in Washington now some eight and forty hours, and though I suppose you are in pretty constant communication with this city, yet letters from it I know are at present of interest and

I shall therefore take the liberty of sending you a few of the results of my observations. People at home as a rule have no conception of the State of affairs here and indeed they cannot; for events here move so rapidly that those on the spot who are well-informed today are behind the times tomorrow. Every change in events also brings a change of spirits, and today all are as elated as yesterday they were downcast, and the elation of today and the depression of yesterday are apparently equally causeless. As near as I can find the fate of this Union is now trembling in the scales and depends on the developments of the next four days. Seward's power has been impaired by the events of the last ten days and especially by Mr. Lincoln's more early speeches; ten days ago, I am assured, the game was in Seward's hands, the secessionists defeated, and the agitation and excitement in the border states rapidly subsiding; but the tendency of the Peace Convention has been very much to harden public sentiment on both sides, and Mr. Lincoln's speeches have spread the impression that Seward's policy is not to be followed out. And while they have been most powerfully pressed by the secessionists, they have seriously discouraged the Union men. The result is that every one here that I have seen, with but one or two exceptions, seems in the very crisis of the struggle to be waiting for a lead and meanwhile following his own inclinations, rather than any defined and united policy. If Lincoln throws his whole weight in support of Seward the party will unite and follow out a conciliatory policy which will, in view of the late elections, keep Virginia steady and save us the country without the loss of anything save many fair words; should he however throw himself into the hands of the extreme republicans, I do not see but what Seward would be compelled to withdraw and the result would be most apparent. Seward would split the Republicans and rally the whole North in support of the Union, and the principles of the Republican party would in the consequent reaction probably be thrown ten years backward. So far I can now see all depends on Seward, and Lincoln is but secondary. If he is forced out, it will be war within thirty days, and if he remains and directs, I am confident the present, as the earlier shallows can be tided over. Yet this is not at all the universal opinion. In a long talk with Mr. Sumner today he repeatedly expressed the opinion to me that Seward had throughout the session been demented, that he is wholly ignorant of the true nature of the question and of the feeling of the South, and that he had acted throughout the winter rather as a politician than as a statesman. Mr. Sumner seemed to speak however under a feeling and excitement which, it seemed to me, could not but in some degree obscure his judgment.

Certainly however all agree that the crisis is far more dangerous and the issue more doubtful than was supposed among those I saw when I left home. I should not be surprised if in sixty days Jeff Davis was in Washington, but I still believe that the chances are that the danger will be safely passed. Four days more however will probably settle the question and we can then decide whether King Lincoln is to reign in Washington or whether it is more advisable to build our Capital on the waters of the Mississippi, or to conquer Maryland and hold Washington by force. Very respectfuly, etc.

CHARLES F. ADAMS, JR.

AMERICA'S DEBT TO GRASSE

The following paper by Admiral BOWLES was prepared as a review of Captain William Milburne James' recent work on the British Navy in the American War of Independence and was printed in the *Springfield Sunday Union and Republican,* February 20, 1927.

When Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry began to agitate the colonies against taxation without representation they had little conception that they then laid the train to an explosion which would involve naval wars circling the seven seas and that England would finally stand single-handed against the world before King George III would grudgingly acknowledge the independence of the United States.

Capt. William Milburne James, director of the Royal Naval Staff college, Greenwich, Eng., has given in his "A Study of the War of American Independence," entitled *The British Navy in Adversity,* a book of interest and importance to American students. Our own histories of the Revolution and even Trevelyan's fascinating work, are largely devoted to local affairs and give only an occasional clew to the world forces that complicated and added to England's natural tendency to muddle colonial matters and the American war.

It also makes clear the great influence of the West Indies on the history of that time, the last period in which the affairs of the Caribbean exercised an important, if not predominating, effect upon the United States of America. The trade and produce of the Spanish Main and the West Indian islands had made the Caribbean for centuries the theater of European

quarrels and the habit still persisted during the Revolution. Much of the inefficiency of the English campaign was owing to diversion of the principal naval forces to the West Indies. The main strategy of both the English and the French was directed to the possession of islands of trifling value compared to North America. At that time few other than American colonists had a vision of the empire of the West. The Duke of Bedford at the peace questioned whether it would not be wiser to give up Canada rather than Guadeloupe.

Captain James truly says the war in all its main features was a maritime war, that it is only by a knowledge of the relation of naval to military force that a true conspectus can be given of a war which became a grave menace to England's existence as a great power. As one follows the story of hostilities on the American coast, to the shores of England, from the Chesapeake to Gibraltar, from the West Indies to the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and India, we realize that it was the pluck and ability of British seamen that brought Great Britain to an honorable peace. It also makes Americans very thankful that Admiral Hood was not in command at Chesapeake Bay on the 5th of September, 1781, when there occurred, as Captain James says, " One of the decisive battles of the world," bringing about the surrender of Cornwallis. Count de Grasse on that occasion outmanœuvered Admiral Graves, to the great disgust of Hood, the second in command.

Captain James' political perspective may be subject to legitimate criticism when he begins his preface by stating the war began " with a quarrel of minor importance on the eastern shore of North America." In fact the cause was the same that secured the Magna Charta from King John, namely, the struggle for law and liberty. The author states that it is not his design to enter the field of political controversy and does generally confine himself to an expert view of a maritime war, with sufficient outline of the land operations in America, and he would have done well to have avoided this opening squib on our sensibilities.

Captain James denounces the English government for its neglect of the navy after the Seven Years' War, and shows that a corrupt government brought the *matériel* of the navy to a reduced and inefficient condition and that the most capa-

ble officers were disinclined to serve under the personnel of the admiralty.

These, however, were not the reasons which accounted for the situation of the "hard pressed British forces in America" at the close of the year 1775. This, according to the author, was principally due to an inadequate naval force. When Admiral Graves was relieved in the spring of 1776, he turned over to Shuldam, his successor, one 50-gun ship, seven frigates, eleven sloops and five schooners. With this fleet he was ordered to carry out operations quite impossible for such numbers. In one week the admiralty sent Graves three letters. The first ordered him to visit every harbor in the colonies and disable ships fitting out; the second, to convey transports to the ports to demand provisions; the third, to examine all vessels arriving in America to see if the masters are ballasting with flint stones.

In contrast to this, the author naturally comments on the results which would have followed the dispatch to America of an efficient fleet in command of an energetic admiral, providing complete command of the trade-ways and communications, coupled with a strong show of force in the various harbors. Such action would have given a very different turn to the course of events.

There is no doubt that the weak British fleet allowed the revolution to gather headway while the home authorities were hesitating between conciliation and war, but, on the other hand, considering the extent of our coast-line and the enterprise of our seamen, the author has not fully realized how very large and very efficient his efficient fleet would have to be to accomplish the objective he has sketched. Meantime at home the land and sea officers were being vilified for their lack of accomplishment, really due to inadequate means.

In 1776 the English government mustered their forces and at the same time began their faulty strategy of dispersion of effort, which permitted the first year of the war to end to the advantage of the colonies. The British forces, both navy and army, were actively employed in 1776 attacking the enemy in three widely separated points, Canada, the New York district and the Carolinas.

Quebec was relieved from the investment of Arnold by Cap-

tain Charles Douglas and a reinforcement of the troops under Burgoyne. Arnold retired to Crown Point, which he and Ethan Allen had taken the year before, in "the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," and prepared to contest the control of Lake Champlain.

Arnold, who had been a seaman, with enormous energy and skill, created a little fleet which met the enemy at Valcour near the north end of Lake Champlain. The action was fought with great gallantry on both sides, but Arnold's little squadron was wiped out by superior force.

Captain James says the effects of Arnold's energy had far-reaching results, but he does not ascribe to it the value given by Mahan, who says that the delay he imposed on the British advance of practically a year, as the season was too far advanced for further campaigning, was of vital consequence to the unprepared colonists and really compassed Burgoyne's surrender in 1777.

Mahan says that the destruction of the fleet ends the naval story of the lakes during the war; but never had any force, big or small, lived to better purpose or died more gloriously, for it saved the lake for that year and prevented the junction with Howe at New York which would have isolated the northern colonies. What a pity that Arnold should have effaced so glorious a record by his awful treachery.

The expedition against the Carolinas consisted of a detachment under Clinton from the hard-pressed garrison of Boston, joining an army from Cork under Lord Cornwallis, escorted by a small fleet under Commodore Sir Peter Parker. This force made an attack on Charleston, June 28, 1776. The fort on Sullivan's island, recently constructed by Colonel Moultrie, put up a stiff fight on a short allowance of ammunition and after a day's action Sir Peter withdrew his fleet and, together with the army which never got into battle at all, sailed for New York to join Howe.

The result in the Carolinas is set forth in a satirical burlesque song which was printed in London in 1777, but needless to say is not quoted by Captain James.

A NEW WAR SONG,

By Sir Peter Parker.

Tune: "Well Met, Brother Tar."

My Lords, with your leave
An account I will give
That deserves to be written in meter;
For the Rebels and I
Have been pretty nigh —
Faith! almost Too Nigh for Sir Peter.

With much labour and toil
Unto Sullivan's Isle
I came fierce as Falstaff or Pistol,
But the Yankees ('od rot 'em)
I could not get at 'em:
Most terribly maul'd my poor Bristol.

Bold Clinton by Land
Did quietly stand
While I made a thundering clatter;
But the channel was deep,
So he could only peep
And not venture over the water.

De'el take 'em; their shot
Came so swift and so hot,
And the cowardly dogs stood so stiff, sirs,
That I put ship about,
And was glad to get out,
Or they would not have left me a skiff, sirs!

Now bold as a Turk
I proceed to New York,
Where with Clinton and Howe you may find me.
I've the wind in my tail,
And am hoisting my sail,
To leave Sullivan's Island behind me.

But, my lords, do not fear
For before the next year,
(Altho' a small island could fret us,)
The Continent whole
We shall take, by my soul,
If the cowardly Yankees will let us.[1]

[1] This ballad is printed in Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*, 135, with the words "I came firm as Falstaff" in the third line of the second stanza. It is also found in Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads*, (Navy Records Society), 246, and in McCarty, *Songs, Odes, and other Poems, on National Subjects*, 103.

General Howe having evacuated Boston, March 17, proceeded to Halifax with transports carrying troops and 1100 loyalists escorted by Shuldam's fleet. Tired of waiting for reinforcements to arrive from England, he sailed with his forces for New York, and landed his troops on Staten Island on June 29. Two weeks later his brother, Viscount Howe, a vice-admiral of the Blue, arrived in the *Eagle* 64 to take command of the fleet. Soon after Commodore Hotham came in escorting eighty-five transports with foot guards and Hessians. Almost simultaneously there appeared Sir Peter Parker with the troops of Clinton and Cornwallis from Charleston. There was then a great array in New York; the fleet consisted of two '64's, seven 50's and three 44-gun ships, forty frigates from 32 to 20 guns each, seventeen sloops and twelve small craft, including a hospital ship. General Howe had sufficient troops to land 15,000 men on Long Island.[2] An engagement known as the battle of Long Island, was prematurely brought on by the indiscretion of Israel Putnam. Howe showed no intention of making an open assault on the works Washington had prepared for that purpose, therefore, with much inferior force, Washington was in a precarious position on Brooklyn Heights with his back to the East River.

During the night of August 29, 1776, Washington successfully transferred his army of between 8000 and 9000 men across the East River to Manhattan island, without the knowledge of Howe's army or the vessels of the fleet. It was a great feat, but not so great as the impossible one ascribed to him by Captain James, who gives him credit for transferring 30,000 men and all their arms and stores "across a waterway too deep to ford." The East River, where Colonel Glover's Marblehead fishermen ferried the army over, was then nearly a mile wide, deep enough for the largest vessels and swept by a turbulent tidal sluiceway difficult for small boats in the best of weather.

Prior to the Long Island affair Lord Howe had attempted to open negotiations for conciliation in accordance with his instructions. The author neglects to mention that his first

[2] Captain James says that Howe had a total of 25,000 men on Long Island. Howe in his statement to the House of Commons says he had 15,000.

difficulty was in finding anyone who would receive a letter addressed to " George Washington, Esquire."

After Long Island, the brothers Howe again laid aside their martial cloaks for the garb of conciliators, but the Declaration of Independence had been signed and the committee of Congress, Franklin, Adams and Rutledge, were prepared only to negotiate on behalf of an independent nation, whereas Lord Howe had authority only to deal with British subjects.

The British fleet was active in support of the army for the balance of the year. Through the advance of Hyde Parker's fleet up the Hudson, Forts Lee and Washington were taken. Commodore Hotham navigated Hell Gate and landed an army which forced Washington to the west of the Hudson where he outgeneraled the British and left them their only success for 1776, the occupation of Newport, thereby clearing up a nest of privateers. The operations of 1776 had created an impression in France favorable to the states, and it only remained for the events of 1777 to make it the decisive year of the war and the last in which England, with the sea lanes free from other enemies, could give its whole attention to America.

In order that attention may be given to the fleet operations of England, France and Spain, we must not linger over the better-known but interesting affairs on land in 1777, and it must suffice to say that the British pursued a mistaken strategy of dispersion of force, on the idea that the country could be subdued by the occupation of principal places such as New York, Boston, Newport, Philadelphia and Charleston, whereas they should have given their whole attention to the destruction of Washington's army.

In England there was much difficulty in providing the number of troops required in America and, therefore, the greater reason for a good general in America, to whom a plan of campaign could be trusted. A partial local control and partial home direction at a distance of three thousand miles, produced what the author mildly describes as disjointed operations. Howe embarked from New York with 14,000 men and 267 war vessels for the Chesapeake, and succeeded in occupying Philadelphia, about the same time that Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, and, as the author says, that disaster was to change the whole course of the war.

It was the signal to the old enemy across the channel, who had been biding his time to spring. It was to act as a clarion to thousands of waverers in America. Nevertheless, the winter of 1777–78 was the most terrible experience of Washington's army, lying intrenched at Valley Forge, starving, naked, decimated by sickness, and easily the victim of Howe, only twenty-five miles away enjoying comforts of Philadelphia. No national shrine can ever exist in comparison with the field of Valley Forge, now beautifully preserved by Pennsylvania, as the scene of noble, patient fortitude of Washington, his faithful officers and men. Their troubles began to diminish when Nathanael Greene, second only in revolutionary services to Washington, became Quartermaster-General, and ended on May day, 1778, by the news of the alliance with France.

England's situation was now much changed. The sea line of communications was threatened, there was a possibility of losing much more than the American colonies and there was even the specter of invasion.

News was received of the coming of a French fleet. Clinton, who had relieved Howe in command of the army, decided to evacuate Philadelphia and return to New York. The imminence of the arrival of the French fleet compelled Clinton to march the army to New York and subjected him to considerable harassment by Washington.

Lord Howe, with the fleet collected to transport the army, left the Delaware with the heavy baggage for New York on June 27, 1778. It was the bad luck of Count d'Estaing to arrive at the Delaware ten days later with much superior force. He missed one chance to end the war there and another, when he proceeded to New York and found Howe's fleet at anchor just inside the Hook. He failed to go in because the pilots told him his big ships could not cross the bar. He went on to Newport, where he could have easily taken the British land forces, but yielded to the demands of his captains to get out before the English fleet was joined by reinforcements on the way. Estaing sighted the British fleet on leaving Newport and while superior in force and with the weather gage, did not attack. A gale dispersed and knocked about both fleets. The English assembled in New York and the French in Boston. There were no further operations and in

the late autumn, both sailed for the West Indies, the English carrying 5000 troops from New York and, as Captain James says, the oft'-contested battle for the West Indian islands was about to begin again.

The Count d'Estaing was not a sailor; he had no lack of courage, but it was not in the French naval code to force decisive battles. So he failed to take the chances offered him. Vice-Admiral Lord Howe gave up his command and returned to England declining further service under the ministry.

The first "brush" between the English channel fleet and the French fleet under Orvilliers occurred on July 27, 1778, off Ushant. It resulted after four days' manœuvering in an indecisive battle in which the English got rather the worst of it, but the Frenchmen would not stay for a finish. Keppel, the English commander, was court-martialed and acquitted under great popular excitement, as he was of high standing and a general favorite.

The French opened affairs in the West Indies by taking the island of Dominica by local forces from Martinique. The English fleet from America in the need of a good harbor for a windward base took St. Lucia from the French and were not dislodged by Estaing, who arrived also from America with superior force while the operation was underway in December, 1778.

It was in the spring of 1778 that Paul Jones in the *Ranger* made his first daring and successful cruise off the coast of Scotland. He took several prizes, burned the shipping at Whitehaven, carried off Lord Selkirk's plate and defeated a 14-gun British sloop.

During the first half of 1779, both English and French fleets in the West Indies were largely reinforced. Estaing received the aid of able officers, Grasse, Vaudreuil and La Motte-Picquet. The French took the offensive with a fleet of twenty-five sail of the line and twelve frigates, carrying 5500 troops. They made a successful attack on Grenada, and, on emerging from the harbor on July 6, 1779, were attacked by Admiral Byron with twenty-one sail of the line and one frigate. He was badly worsted, owing to the precipitancy of his attack while his ships were in disorder. It would have ended in a real disaster for Byron if Estaing had followed up his advantage

by taking five disabled ships and the transports easily in his power. As it was he returned to Grenada, later to sail for America. There he failed to properly co-operate in an attack on Savannah and soon after sailed for home, to be relieved by Guichen.

This attack on Savannah had one important result in America by inducing Sir Henry Clinton to evacuate Newport and transfer the forces to New York, feeling he could not hold both places after troops had been sent to the West Indies. Rodney said afterward that he thus surrendered "the best and noblest harbor in America."

The British fleet was practically immobilized for the remainder of 1779 by the battle of Grenada and the difficulty of making consequent repairs. During 1779 the French had taken the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada. England had declared war on Spain in June. To Spain affairs appeared opportune to acquire Gibraltar, Minorca or perhaps the Floridas or some West Indian islands. She had a long list of ships and the combination of the French and Spanish navies left the English nominally very inferior in force, if we omit the capacity of the personnel.

In July, 1779, the French and Spanish fleets joined under command of Orvilliers having sixty-six sail of the line. A project had been formed of landing a French army from Havre on the Isle of Wight, after disposing of the small English fleet available in the channel. Luck was with the English; the fleets never met, adverse winds scattered the armada. The invasion was given up, but not before great alarm was felt in England. The English, however, suffered the mortification of having their fleet chased up their own channel.

Paul Jones was again active with increased force having the *Bon Homme Richard* 40 guns, *Alliance* 32, the *Pallas* 30 and the *Vengeance* 12. He took a number of prizes and on August 23, 1779, a fierce engagement took place off the Yorkshire coast between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis* 44. The *Serapis* was eventually compelled to strike after great loss in killed and wounded. The *Bon Homme Richard*, sank the next day.

Early in 1780, there appeared on the scene one of the great and potent factors of the war, Sir George Brydges Rodney,

admiral of the White, afterward Lord Rodney and Rear Admiral of Great Britain. He had previously had three tours of duty in America, first in 1749, as governor and commander-in-chief in Newfoundland, in 1761, commander of the Leeward Islands station, and afterward in 1771, commander-in-chief of the Jamaica station. I have had access through the courtesy of the author of *Admirals of the Caribbean,* Mr. Francis R. Hart, to the original of a report by Rodney made in 1762 to the admiralty describing the islands, those most desirable for produce, those best situated for bases in the days of sail power, and the desirable harbors. It shows careful observation and shrewd comment. Rodney had been greatly embarrassed financially by extravagance in a parliamentary election and gambling, but through friends extricated himself so that his services were available in December, 1779, to command a joint fleet for India and America which was to relieve Gibraltar on the way.

Rodney brilliantly succeeded at Gibraltar, decimating two Spanish fleets in the process. With the fleet for American waters he arrived at Barbados to take command in March, 1780, within a week of the arrival of Guichen with reinforcements which made the French and English fleets nearly equal, the French somewhat superior in condition. Rodney made every effort to bring the French fleet to decisive battle and while there were two fleet actions, that of Martinique on April 17, 1780, and that of St. Lucia channel of May 15, they were only such as to prevent either fleet from conquest and Guichen from any co-operation in America where he was begged to appear. In the midsummer Guichen dispersed his fleet and sailed for home with the trade convoy. Rodney sailed for New York and thus both escaped the great hurricane of 1780, which destroyed more ships and property in the West Indies than all the combatants combined for the whole war.

The policy enforced upon its admirals by the French government was that they should injure the enemy whenever possible, but not so far as to risk the existence of their fleet. This is not the sort of strategy that appeals to the English at all and is consequently much criticized by Captain James, but was in fact very difficult to execute against them. It was probably adopted largely for motives of economy, but British economy

is to take chances to end the war by destruction of the enemy's force, rather than a peace by exhaustion. The French method, however, worked for the Americans. It enabled Ternay to reach Newport with his squadron and transports carrying Rochambeau and 6000 troops on July 10, 1780, and similarly in the next year it was the prudence of Grasse that preserved his fleet for the decisive battle at the Chesapeake.

Rodney arrived at New York in September, 1780, and found that Clinton would lose New York to Washington if he and Rodney attacked the French fleet and army securely established in Newport. It was then he cursed Clinton for ever evacuating Newport and returned to the West Indies to find it in desolation from the hurricane.

It was in this year 1780 the circle of British enemies became complete. Russia and Scandinavia formed the "League of Armed Neutrality" to enforce the rights of neutrals. The Dutch had neglected the obligations of an existing treaty with England requiring them to take part against aggression by France and Spain. When to this was added evidence that a friendly treaty with the United States was in the making, England declared war against Holland on December 20, 1780.

News of this reached Rodney in the West Indies quite promptly, with orders to him and the army to take the Dutch islands. He and General Vaughan proceeded at once to make a bloodless capture of St. Eustatius and an enormous loot. One hundred and fifty richly loaded merchant ships, six Dutch frigates, and stores to the value of £3,000,000, not to mention a Dutch admiral, were taken.

Captain James says the king gave the spoils to the army and navy, calls Rodney and Vaughan, "treasure collectors" who remained at St. Eustatius for three months on various pretexts, and that a storm of criticism and much scandal were aroused.

Captain James does not seem fair to Rodney. I have had access to a printed collection of official correspondence of Rodney and others, issued by him in 1781, entitled *Letters from Sir George Brydges, Now Lord Rodney, to His Majesty's Ministers. . . . Relative to the Capture of St. Eustatius and Its Dependencies and Shewing the State of the War in the*

West Indies at that Period. This particular copy bears the autograph of Lord Rodney.

The significant facts are that Rodney captured St. Eustatius on February 3, 1781. He began at once to dispose of the captured property. He sent on March 18 a very large convoy of captured vessels and property to England under charge of Commodore Hotham. The admiralty was notified in advance by two frigates, but the greater part of the convoy was captured by the French in the mouth of the channel. He sent large shipments of stores to Port Royal and St. Lucia. He tried to take down and carry away the storehouses so they could not be used again. The king's action giving the captured property to the captors was not taken until March 30, and was only known to Rodney at Barbados on June 26, 1781. Captain James entirely fails to mention that when the French retook St. Eustatius in the autumn after Rodney's return to England, they found £250,000 in coin which Rodney had ordered taken to New York to pay the troops.

The charges against Rodney arose from his seizure of the property and papers of English subjects living at St. Eustatius actively engaged in the business of that place in trading with England's enemies, the French, Spanish and Americans.

There is an incident described in these Rodney letters worth mentioning as what is now sensational but at that time was a matter of course. In a letter to the admiralty dated February 12, 1781, he reported the arrival of a shallop (open boat) commanded by a midshipman which had left the neighborhood of Cape Finisterre on December 31, 1780. He never mentioned the name of the midshipman who had been six weeks at sea to bring news of the coming of a French fleet. The fleet he reported proved not bound for the West Indies; but three months later Grasse with twenty sail of the line and a convoy of one hundred and fifty sail slipped into Fort Royal, Martinique, May 6, 1781, after a skirmish with Hood's fleet of seventeen vessels in a leeward position.

The French admiral had followed the customary policy of caution and Rodney, having had no advice of the sailing of this great fleet, missed the great chance of intercepting it. Grasse further succeeded in keeping Rodney busy for the next two months without getting into action and then slipped away

with his whole fleet, twenty-seven ships of the line and a convoy of nearly two hundred of the trade, to Cap François on the way to France. At Cap François Grasse received word from Washington and Rochambeau, urging a concentration at New York, or the Chesapeake. He decided for the latter and so informed Washington.

He also concluded to disregard instructions to send a part of his fleet home with the convoy and sailed with twenty-six ships of the line for the Chesapeake, taking aboard 3000 troops, a number of guns, and a large sum in cash, arriving on August 30, 1781. Meantime Washington and Rochambeau had persuaded Barras, in command of the French fleet at Newport to proceed to the Chesapeake to join Grasse. Thus at last was underway the concentration which Washington had urged and planned for vainly so many times before.

The English were not unaware that something was underway. Rodney had suspicions of Grasse's move to Cap François and before he sailed for home on August 1, too ill for further service, had issued preparatory orders to Hood to proceed to New York. A few days later Hood received letters from Clinton giving warning of an expected concentration of French forces, probably against New York. Hood sailed promptly with fourteen of the line. He looked in at the Chesapeake on August 25, five days before Grasse arrived, and seeing no enemy proceeded to New York, where he joined his senior, Rear Admiral Thomas Graves. The latter receiving news on August 31 that Barras had sailed from Newport with eight of the line, at once put to sea with nineteen of the line, including Hood's force, expecting to overhaul Barras with greatly superior force.

Grasse on his arrival at the Chesapeake landed his troops under command of the Marquis de St. Simon to join Lafayette, and stationed vessels at the entrance of the James and York rivers to prevent any attempt of Cornwallis to escape.

On September 5, 1781, when the French lookout frigate reported a fleet in sight, Grasse hoped it was Barras. Soon realizing it was the British in force, although his boats were down and many men absent in them, he buoyed his cables and made sail with twenty-four ships to meet Admiral Graves and his nineteen of the line outside Cape Henry.

Graves approaching from the north with the wind northeast had, as Captain James says, a position of advantage " beyond the wildest dreams of a sea commander. His whole fleet was running down before the wind, and his enemy was before him, working slowly out of harbor. He had only to fall on their van with full force and the day was his." The opportunity was lost. The fleets formed on about east and west lines and early in the afternoon, Graves made signal to his van to bear down and engage the French van, but he kept the signal for " line of battle " flying, which compelled every captain to keep his ship in the line through the van ship and the center or flagship.

This kept the fleets at an angle and consequently the rear half of the British fleet was not engaged. The French badly crippled the four leading British, one had to be abandoned. The next day was calm and the fleets remained in sight of each other. On the 7th and 8th of September, Grasse held the windward position but did not seek action. On the 9th, with a favoring wind Grasse disappeared into the Chesapeake. The British remained outside until the 11th, when their frigates reported that Barras had arrived, giving the French thirty-six ships of the line. Graves then sailed for New York. It was this battle of September 5 that sealed the fate of Cornwallis and ended the war of American independence. Washington arrived at Williamsburg on September 14 with Rochambeau and the Continentals; two days later Yorktown was invested and on October 19 Cornwallis capitulated, surrendering 8000 men.

Clinton at New York was active in an attempt to relieve Cornwallis, but Graves was slow in getting the fleet ready, so that it sailed with transports from New York on October 19, the day of Cornwallis's surrender. On October 30 the French frigates reported to Grasse forty-four English sail outside the capes. They learned they were too late and returned to New York. Grasse did not go out to engage, as both Washington and Rochambeau had requested him to remain at anchor. Both French and English fleets soon sailed for the West Indies.

Having reached the climax of the American war I cannot extend this study to cover the last phase of the war in the West

Indies, where in the battle at the Saintes, Grasse was defeated and captured by Rodney, nor the further affairs at Gibraltar and Minorca, nor the battles in the Indian ocean, where the English found a worthy foe in Suffren.

Captain James has given us a valuable history of surpassing interest and in America we ought to be grateful to him for the demonstration of the debt we owe Grasse for his decision to concentrate his fleet at the Chesapeake and his successful conduct of the battle of September 5, 1781, one of the greatest historical importance. Our largely sentimental debt to Lafayette shrinks in comparison to our actual obligation to the Count Grasse.

Mr. Ford presented a list of

FRENCH ROYAL EDICTS, etc., ON AMERICA

While awaiting in the *Archives,* Paris, a reply to my request for permission to examine records that could be seen only by special grace of the Ministry from which they came, I called for certain boxes of printed material which required no privilege beyond admission to the *Archives,* already granted without delay on my application. This material had been segregated by a former Keeper of the *Archives,* and in it I soon became interested in a series of edicts, decrees and regulations, by King, Council or administrative unit, applying to the French colonies in general. This series was noted as " unique " and no careful comparison was needed to recognize that it was unique, as well in particular documents as in number and extent of time and subject. No other place, not even a combination of Bibliothèque Nationale and departments, could supply so full and interesting a record. Taking the opportunity I drew off the titles of such official printed papers as concerned the French possessions in America and offer them as aids to investigators in that subject.

Good as is the store of records in the *Archives* it is not complete, as I soon found. On stating my want to M. Bernard Faÿ, who has written so well on French influence in America, he brought me into connection with M. Charles de la Roncière, the Assistant Keeper of Printed Books in the Bibliothèque Nationale, who has distinguished himself by a

history of the French marine and a history of the discovery of Africa in the Middle Ages, two authoritative works, topically related, yet quite different in conception and execution. M. de la Roncière very courteously aided my search and also permitted me to add to my list the contents of volumes in his own collection, which I had not seen elsewhere. I take pleasure in recording this special assistance, so freely given, and the items drawn from his volumes — also probably "unique" — are indicated by the letter R. A single title found in the Public Record Office, London, and a few found in the New York Public Library serve to round out the series. It must be, however, still far from complete.

Yet such as it is, it will indicate the territory covered by the French rule, the many subjects included in the regulations, and the peculiarities of control which, inspired by Cardinal Mazarin and his successors, tended to surround the economy and administration of the French colonies by restrictions needlessly minute, interfering with the settlement and growth of trade which would enable the possessions to be to France what the English and the Dutch colonies became to their mother countries. The "Mercantile System," applied everywhere, involved a weakness of encouragement well nigh able to destroy the hope of a French colonial empire. Canada, the West Indies, Guiana and Louisiana, impressive as is the roll of names, they have as French dependencies largely become a matter of history. Perhaps the list now printed will aid the future historian to trace the influence of government in bringing to pass that decline or real neglect of colonial energy on the part of France, resulting in the loss of virgin territory, sea power and commerce. The revival of colonial ambitions in late years has turned France towards Northern Africa, where her own economy and the emulation of other powers have given a firmer foundation to the national hope for prosperous dependencies.

The subjects treated in these edicts are manifold and are concerned with what was peculiar to France as well as with what applied to any colonial holding. When nobles were told that trading by sea would not diminish their noble qualities,[1]

[1] No. 8.

it was France that spoke, and a like English decree would be a true curiosity. So, at a much later time, stands the decree [2] suppressing a work entitled *Considérations sur l'État présent de la Colonie Françoise de Saint-Domingue*, 1777. That act probably supplies the explanation for the non-appearance of the third volume of Michel Réné Hilliard d'Auberteuil's work. The first and second volumes, "presented" to the Minister of Marine, were published in 1776 and 1777, but the third volume has been noted as commenced, but never published.

Of the earliest trading and colonial ventures nothing in the *Archives* came to my notice, and the edict of 1664 [3] establishing a Company of the West Indies is the first on the list. In 1717 a Western Company was recognized for colonizing Louisiana.[4] Sugar and tobacco from the West Indies early claimed regulation in favor of the home rather than the colonial markets. Port dues, privileges and monopolies, and duties on ships and cargoes multiplied in number and complexity, showing an expanding commerce becoming, by its nature and the competition of other nations, increasingly difficult to control. That a colony should trade only with the home country and only in French vessels, was an article of faith difficult to enforce at so great a distance.[5] The West Indies and Louisiana had not the best tobacco fields, and the English sugar islands sought to injure their French rivals by regulations as specially framed for English interests as those of France were for the French. Even the fisheries of the north, cod and whale, could be partially monopolized only by edicts which copied those of other nations and in their operation tended to invite evasion and illicit trading. The islands were not self-supporting and food had to be brought from Canada or from France. Forbidden to take meats or other merchandise from foreign countries, they found relief, tardy and ineffective, in lifting or slighting the prohibition when famine approached. A temporary freedom from all customs duties also invited shippers to send provisions, but trade best serves in regular channels and under fixed conditions. Spasmodic trading has speculative features. The attempts to meet the needs of the colonists, island or mainland, gave satisfaction to none. How-

[2] No. 386.
[3] No. 3.
[4] Nos. 114, 117, 123.
[5] Nos. 12, 13.

ever carefully profits of merchants and shippers were guarded, the rules, designed for a particular occasion, worked unequally and therefore unjustly.

Colonists, much needed at all times, responded slowly to the call and in quality left much to be desired. If voluntary, they sought trade and gain with little thought of permanent settlements. The "engagé" answered to the English indentured servant, bound to work out his pasage by being sold into a three-year servitude in the colony, a condition little better than slavery. As early as 1670 the period of contract was reduced from three years to eighteen months,[6] and in the following year a captain of a ship taking two cows or two mares for the colonies was obliged to take two "engagés" for each cow or mare.[7] Slaves from Africa must have been introduced almost as early as in the English colonies. Interest would have led to their use, for the slave trade in English hands made little question of markets, and an import duty on their importation offered a ready source of revenue when taxable objects were not many.[8] A French Guinea Company, established in 1685, sought to obtain a share in the African trade in slaves and gold dust.[9]

The list offers some bibliographic features. The "printer to the King" came before the Royal printing office. The first contemporary issue, with name of printer, is No. 3, and Réné Baudry possessed the king's licence. The title of King's Printer was for a long term held by Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, a name associated with the *Jesuit Relations* sent from Canada. Frederic Léonard (No. 8) announces himself as the regular printer of the king and court of Parliament, "rue S. Jacques, à l'Écu de Venise," an announcement of proper form and place, and in another paper he gives a more definite description of his position: "seul Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy pour la Guerre, les Finances & la Monaye." In 1679, while Mabre-Cramoisy still used his title, Christophe Ballard, "rue S. Jean de Beauvais, au Mont Parnasse" also claimed to be the king's printer.[10]

The name Saugrain occurs frequently and in varying relations, making it difficult to distinguish the individuals. Sau-

[6] No. 11. [8] No. 16. [10] No. 35.
[7] No. 20. [9] No. 45.

grain's widow had a printing establishment at the entrance of the Quay de Gesvres, on the side of the "Pont au Change, au Paradis." She printed there certainly from 1719 to 1730 and reprinted many of the earlier decrees and orders. There were Guillaume Saugrain at the same location, and Joseph Saugrain, "au milieu du Quay de Gesvres, à la Croix Blanche," evidently another office. In 1726 Veuve Saugrain and Pierre Prault were associated, calling themselves "Imprimeurs des Fermes du Roy, Quay de Gesvres, au Paradis" and the association continued some years. Later three names are found — Veuve Saugrain, Pierre Prault and Henri Holtz — at the old location. In 1753 P. Prault, "Imprimeur des Fermes & Droits du Roy" still occupied the Quay and "au Paradis," and "chez Prault" or "l'imprimerie Prault" continued to 1770. About 1720 Georges Jouvenel was "imprimeur des Fermes du Roy au Bureau General des Aydes," but it became Veuve and M–G. Jouvenel with the same description of office. Also in the early part of the eighteenth century Veuve François Muguet and Hubert Muguet called themselves "Premier Imprimeur du Roy et de son Parlement," with an office on "rue de la Harpe, aux trois Rois." One of their items (No. 101) adds the name of Louis Denis de la Tour, also at the Three Kings. In 1723 Louis Denis Delatour and Pierre Simon, printers to the Parliament and Court of Aids, had the same location as the Muguets; while in the year 1744 G. Lamesle was "Imprimeur des Fermes du Roy, au Bureau Général des Aydes," without a given location. The king was well served by printers in the first decades of that century, as Jean Baptiste Coignard could add to his name "Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, & de l'Académie Françoise, rue S. Jacques, à la Bible d'or."

D'Houry was printer to the Admiralty in 1762 and P. G. Simon was printer to the Parliament on rue Mignon Saint-André-des-Arcs, as well as to the Admiralty. In 1783 he was associated with N. H. Nyon as printers to the Parliament. The Marine Department had its own printing office at Versailles in 1722, and about that time Guillaume Desprez was recognized as "imprimeur ordinaire du Roi & du Clergé de France," on the rue S. Jacques. Lottin, the elder, did some work for the Admiralty.

French Edicts

1629–1669

1. Déclaration | du Roi, | Pour faire levée sur le Petun & Tabac, de trente | sols pour livre de droit d'Entrée. | Donnée à Paris le 17 Novembre 1629. Colophon: A Paris. De l'Imprimerie de Prault, | Imprimeur du Roi, Quay de Gêvres. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 3

2. Edict dv Roy | Pour l'establissement de sa Compa- | gnie Royalle des Voyages de long | cours, Leuant, Midy, & Ponent, & | autres effects & admenagements en | France dans sa ville de Paris, & par | correspondance par toutes les autres | villes du Royaume. [Wood-cut.] M. DC. XXXIIII. pp. 38[2], 8, 4, 4. Ms. Fr. 18592, f. 5.

3. Edit dv Roy, | pour l'Establissement | de la Compagnie | des Indes | Occidentales. | Verifié en Parlement le vnziéme iour de Juillet 1664. | Et en la Chambre des Comptes le dernier Juillet 1664. [Wood-cut.] A Paris, | Par Rene' Bavdry, tenant son Imprimerie | ruë Ticquetonne, par Priuilege du Roy. | M. DC. LXIV. pp. 28. R

4. Arrest | dv Conseil | de Commerce, | donné en faveur des Marchands, & de tous autres qui feront cy-aprés bastir des | Vaisseaux, ou trafiqueront sur le Mer. | Du 5. Décembre 1664. [Arms.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy. | M. DC. LXX. pp. 8. R

5. Arrest du Conseil | d'Estat du Roy, | Du 15. Septembre 1665. | Qui regle les Droits d'Entrées sur les Sucres | raffinez en pain ou en poudre, Candis blanc | & brun venant des Païs Etrangers, . . . Et les Sucres des Isles & Colonies Françoises de | l'Amerique de quelque qualité qu'ils soient, | à 4. livres. pp. 5[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 207

6. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy. | Du dixième Septembre 1668. | Pour l'Entrepost des Sucres, Tabacs & autres | Marchandises venans des Païs de la Compagnie des | Indes Occidentales. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 9

7. Arrest | dv Conseil | d'Etat. | Portant que les Passeports | pour les Vaisseaux François qui iront aux | Isles de l'Amerique, seront donnez par le | Roy. | Du 12. Juin 1669. [Arms.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy. | M. DC. LXIX. pp. 6 and 1 blank leaf. R

8. Edict | du Roy, | Portant que les Nobles pourront | faire le Commerce de Mer, sans | déroger à la Noblesse. | Verifié en Parlement le 13 Aoust 1669. [Wood-cut] A Paris, | Chez Frederic Leonard, Imprimeur ordin. | du Roy, & de la Cour de Parlement, ruë | S. Jacques, à l'Ecu de Venise. | M. DC. LXIX. | Avec Privilege de sa Majesté. pp. 4. R

9. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat, | Qui décharge les Particuliers qui trafiquent dans | les Isles Françoises de l'Amérique, de la somme de | six livres pour Tonneau de Mer, du Port des | Vaisseaux, qui iront negocier ausdites Isles. | Du 9. Decembre 1669. Colophon: A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy. | M. DC. LXIX. pp. 3[1]. R

1670–1672

10. Arrest | dv Conseil d'Estat: | qvi permet aux Habitans | du Canada, d'apporter en France des | Moruës de la pesche dudit Païs, & du | Charbon de Terre. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, Imprimeur | du Roy. 1670. pp. 4. R

11. Arrest | dv Conseil d'Estat: | Par leqvel sa Majesté | abolit & abroge la Coûtume introduite dans toutes | les Terres de son obeïssance des Indes Occidentales, | & qui y tient lieu de Loy, que toute personne qui a | esté passée audit Païs aux frais & despens d'autruy, | est sujette à l'engagement de trois ans pour le servi- | ce de son passage; & ordonne que ledit engagement | ne sera plus que dix-huit mois. | Du 28. Février 1670. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Par Sebast. Mabre-Cramoisy, Imprimeur du Roy. | M. DC. LXX. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 2 & R

12. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Portant Deffenses a tous | Vaisseaux & Bâtimens estrangers, d'aborder dans | les Ports des Isles de l'Amérique occupées par | les Sujets de Sa Majesté, mouïller dans les Rades | desdites Isles, ny naviguer aux environs d'icel- | les: Ensemble à tous ses Sujets habitans ésdites | Isles, ou y faisant commerce, de recevoir au- | cunes Marchandises, ny Vaisseaux estrangers, | ny avoir aucune correpondance avec eux. | Du 10. Juin 1670. [ARMS.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy. | M. DC. LXX. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. R

13. Ordonnance | portant défenses de tout Commerce | Estranger dans les Iles Françoises de | l'Amerique. | Du 10. Juin 1670. à Saint Germain en Laye. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay | de Gesvres, au Paradis. 1719. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 3

14. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat: | Portant que les Particuliers | qui voudront obtenir des Passeports pour aller | aux Isles de l'Amérique, seront tenus rapporter | des Certificats des Juges des Admirautez, que | les Vaisseaux sont dans vn des Ports de France | pour y faire leur charge. | Du premier Juillet 1670. [WOOD-CUT.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy | M. DC. LXX. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. R

15. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy. | Du premier Juillet 1670. | Portant que les particuliers qui voudront obtenir | des Passeports pour aller aux Isles de l'Amérique, | seront tenus de rapporter des Certificats des Juges | des Admirautez, que les Vaisseaux sont dans un | des Ports de France pour y faire leur charge. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 4

16. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat: | qui décharge du Droit | de cinq pour cent les Negres de Guinée, qui | seront amenéz aux Isles Françoises de l'Ame- | rique. | Du 26. Aoust 1670. [ARMS.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy. | M. DC. LXX. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. R

17 Arrest | Pour de'charger | du Droit de cinq pour cent, les Negres | de Guinée qui seront amenez aux Isles | Françoises de l'Amérique. | Du 26. Aoust 1670. à Saint Germain en Laye. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay | de Gesvres, au Paradis. 1719. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 1

18. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat. | Qui reduit les droicts qui se perçoivent aux En- | trees sur les Sucres venans des Isles de l'Ameri- | que à quarante sols pour chacun cent pesant. | Du dixiéme Decembre 1670. [Arms.] A Paris, | Chez Frederic Leonard, Imprimeur ordinaire | du Roy, ruë S. Jacques, à l'Escu de Venise. | M. DC. LXX. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 208

19. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Du 15. Janvier 1671. | Qui Ordonne conformement à la Declaration du Roy, | du dix-huit Avril 1667. Qu'il sera levé en tous les Bu- | reaux de la Doüane de Lyon, . . . sur tous les Sucres | rafinez . . . venant des Païs Estrangers, . . . du Bresil, . . . Sucres de S. Thomé, . . . | A Paris, | De l'Imprimerie de Georges Jouvenel, Imprimeur des | Fermes du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. | MDCCXXII. pp. 8. AD. XI. 48. f. 209

20. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat: | Portant qu'il ne sera expedié | aucun Passeport pour les Isles de l'Amerique, qu'avec clause expresse que les Capitaines, ou Maistres des Vais- | seaux de cent tonneaux, & au dessus, porteront deux | Vaches, ou deux Cavalles; & ceux au dessous, deux | Engagez pour chacune Vache ou Cavalle. | Du 22. Janvier 1671. [Arms.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy, | M' DC. LXXI. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 5

21. Arrest du Conseil | d'Estat. | Du vingt-quatriéme Janvier 1671. | Qui Ordonne que la Compagnie des Indes Occi- | dentales, & les Marchands de ce Royaume, ne- | gocians dans les Colonies Françoises de l'Ame- | rique, joüiront de la moderation des Droits | d'Entrée sur les Sucres & Petuns, à raison de | quarante sols du cent, & modere la restitution | des Droits des Sucres rafinez & Petuns qui sor- | tiront hors le Royaume, ou seront transportez | dans les Villes & Païs conquis par Sa Majesté, | à la somme de quatre livres pour chacun cent | pesant desdits Sucres rafinez & Petuns. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez Frederic Leonard, | Impr. ord. du Roy. 1671. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 11

22. Arrest du Conseil | d'Estat dv Roy, | Du troisiesme Juin 1671. | Qui ordonne que les Sucres qui seront rafinez dans | les Rafineries de Bordeaux, joüiront du Benefice | de l'Estape generale, . . . Colophon: A Paris, | Chez Frederic Leonard, | Impr: ord. du Roy. 1671. pp. 4. R

23. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat: | qui décharge de tous Droits | les Marchandises qui seront chargées en France, | pour estre portees dans les Isles de l'Amérique. | Du 4. Juin 1671. [Arms.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy. | M. DLXXI. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. R

24. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui décharge de tous Droits les Marchandises qui seront | chargées en France, pour estre portées dans les Isles de | l'Amerique, & reduit à trois pour cent le Droit de cinq | pour cent, étably sur les Marchandises du cru desdites Isles. | Du quatriéme Juin 1671. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez la veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gêvres, | du costé du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 6

25. Ordonnance | dv Roi, | Du quatriéme November 1671. | Qui De-

fend à tous Marchands François, trafiquans | dans les Isles de l'Amerique, occupées par ses Sujets, | d'y transporter aucunes Viandes, ny autres Mar- | chandises prises dans les Païs Estrangers, à peine | de confiscation, cinq cens livres d'amende, &c. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 7

26. De Par le Roy. | Sa Majesté ayant esté in- | formée, qu'au préjudice des | Arrests & Ordonnances qui | ont esté expediez pour inter- | dire tout Commerce Estran- | ger dans les Isles de l'Amérique occu-pées par ses Sujets, . . . [Dated, Novembre 4, 1671. No imprint.] pp. 3[1]. R

27. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat: | Par lequel il est ordonné que | les Marchandises qui seront chargées en France, pour | estre portées dans les Isles de l'Amérique, seront exem- | ptes de tous Droits de Sortie, & autres géneralement, | en donnant par les Marchands soumissions de rappor- | ter Certificats de leur décharge dans lesdites Isles. | Du 25. Novembre 1671. [WOOD-CUT.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy. | M. DC. LXXII. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. R

28. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Sa Majesté y estant, | Du quatorziéme Decembre 1671. | Par lequel il est ordonné, qu'il sera délivré aux | Negocians de la Ville de Nantes, des Passeports de | Sa Majesté, en la maniere accoûtumée, pour Ne- | gocier aux Isles de l'Amerique; A condition que | les Proprietaires des Vaisseaux donneront Caution | dans ladite Ville de Nantes, &c. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 9

29. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat, | qui permet a tous Marchands | François de trafiquer & negocier en l'Isle de Cayenne, | en prenant Passeport, ainsi qu'il se pratique aux autres | Isles & Terre-Ferme de l'Amerique. | Du 26. Octobre 1672. [WOOD-CUT.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy. | M. DC. LXXII. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. R

30. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat: | qui ordonne que dans le Courant de | l'Année prochaine 1673. le recouvrement de trois mnsillio de Sucre | sera fait, à la poursuite & diligence de Me Bertrand Pallu sieur de Ruan, | Agent géneral de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, sur les Ha- | bitans desdites Isles qui sont débiteurs à ladite Compagnie. | Du 26 Octobre 1672. [ARMS.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, Imprimeur | du Roy. | M. DC. LXXII. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. R

1673–1679

31. Arrest | dv Conseil d'Estat dv Roy, | Du vingt-sixiéme Octobre 1672. | Qui Ordonne que dans le courant de l'Année prochaine | 1673. le Recouvrement de Trois millions de Sucre, sera fait à la poursuite & diligence de Me Bertrand | Pallu Sieur du Ruan, Agent general de la Compagnie | des Indes Occidentales, sur les Habitans desdites Isles, | qui sont debiteurs à ladite Compagnie. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 212

32. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat: | Qui confirme l'arrest dudit Conseil | du 28. Février 1670. & ordonne que les Contracts d'Engagements qui | ont esté, ou qui seront passez en France pardevant Notaires, seront | exécutez tant à l'égard des Ouvriers, gens de Mestier, & Artisans, | que tous

autres Passagers dans les Isles de l'Amérique. | Du 31. Octobre 1672. [Arms.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, Imprimeur | du Roy. | M. DC. LXXII. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4.
AD. VII. 2A. f. 10

33. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat: | portant que les Marchandises | qui seront chargées pour les Isles de l'Amerique & Costes | de Guinée, seront exemptes de tous Droits de Sortie | dans tous les Ports du Royaume, & que les Sucres & | Tabacs venans desdites Isles ne paieront à leur entrée | dans lesdits Ports que quarante sols du cent pesant. | Du 15. Juillet 1673. [Arms.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, | Imprimeur du Roy. | M. DC. LXXIII. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. [13a]

34. Declaration | du Roy, | Pour la vente & distribution du Tabac dans le Royaume. | Donnée à Versailles le 27. Septembre 1674. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, et Pierre Prault, Im- | primeur des Fermes du Roy, Quay de Gesvres, | au Paradis, 1730. pp. 4.
AD. XI. 48. f. 15

35. Bail General | de la Ferme | dv Tabac, | et Marqve | de l'Estain. [30 Novembre 1674.] [Arms.] A Paris, | Chez Christophe Ballard, Imprimeur du Roy, ruë | S. Jean de Beauvais, au Mont Parnasse. | M. DC. LXXIX. | Avec Privilege de Sa Majesté. pp. 14. AD. XI. 48. f. 16

36. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat du Roy, | Sa Majesté y estant. Du vingt-quatre May 1675. | Portant Augmentation de Quarante Sols | pour Cent pesant de Mascoüades & Sucres, venans | des Isles Françoises de l'Amerique. Et que les Sucres | Rafinez à Nantes, Sortant de Bretagne, par Ingrande, | payeront les Droits y mentionnez. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, & Pierre Prault à l'entrée du Quay | de Gévre, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 213

37. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy. | Qui permet à Me Jean Oudiette, Fermier des Domaines | d'Occident, de nommer à l'Exercice des Greffes des Con- | seils Souverains & des Justices des Isles de l'Amerique, | des personnes capables pour en faire les Fonctions. &c. | Du vingt-huitiéme Mars 1676. Colophon: A Paris, Chez la Veuve Saugrain, Pierre Prault, & Henri Holtz, | à l'entrée du Quay de Gesvres, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 11

38. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat: | qui ordonne que les Propriétaires | des Isles & autres Créanciers privilegiez de la Compa- | gnie des Indes Occidentales seront payez sur la somme | de cent cinquante mille livres provenante des Fermes du | Domaine d'Occident, suivant les estats qui en ont esté | & seront arrestez audit Conseil de six en six mois, & | sur les ordres des sieurs Bellinzani & Mesnagers. | Du 8. April 1679. [Wood-cut.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, Imprimeur | du Roy. | M. DC. LXXX. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. R

1680–1689

39. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les Marchands, & tous autres, qui au- | ront acheté des Tabacs de Maître Jean

Breton, ses Pro- | cureurs & Commis, seront tenu d'en faire le debit pen- | dant les mois de Juillet, Aoust & Septembre de la pre- | sente année: Et defenses d'en faire plus grande provision | que ce qui sera necessaire pour le debit & consommation | jusque au dernier Septembre prochain; & icelui passé, | d'en vendre & se servir desdits Tabacs, sans la per- | mission de Maître Claude Boutet, & sans être marqués | de sa Marque, à peine de confiscation & d'amende. | Du 29 Juin 1680. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez Pierre Prault, Imprimeur des Fermes du | Roy, Quay de Gesvres, au Paradis. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 30

40. Ordonnance | du Roy, | concernant le Commerce | du Tabac dans le Royeaume. | Du vingt-deux Juillet 1681. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, | à l'entrée du Quay de Gêvres, du côté du Pont | au Change, au Paradis. pp. 8. AD. XI. 48. f. 36

41. Arrest | du Conseil | d'Estat: | portant que les Interessez | qui restent à payer de leurs interests des actions qu'ils | ont dans la Compagnie d'Occident, seront payez | pendant les années 1683. 1684. & 1685. en Sucre | brut enfustaillé à prendre aux Isles de l'Amerique. | Du 18. Novembre 1681. [WOOD-CUT.] A Paris, | Par Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, Imprimeur | du Roy. | M. DC. LXXXI. | De l'exprés commandement de Sa Majesté. pp. 4. R

42. Arrest | dv Conseil d'Estat dv Roy, | Du dix-huitiéme Avril 1682. | Portant, Que les Sucres Rafinez venans de l'Amerique, | payeront pendant deux années, à commencer au premier | May prochain, Huit livres pour chacun Cent pesant; | Sçavoir, Six livres à Me Jean Fauconnet, & Deux livres | à Me Jean Oudiette, Fermier du Domaine d'Occident. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 214

43. Extrait des Registres | du Conseil d'Estat du 12. Septembre 1684. pp. 42. [On contract for importing negroes into the colonies.] AD. VII. 3. f. 2

44. Arrest | dv Conseil d'Estat dv Roy, | Du vingt-huitiéme Septembre 1684. | Qui Ordonne Que les Sucres Rafinez, | venant des Isles & Colonies Françoises de l'Amerique, | Payeront Huit livres pour Cent pesant: Et que les | Sucres appellez Mascoüades, Cassonnades, Sucre-noir | de S. Christophe, Panelles, Sucres de Saint-Thomé, | & autres lieux desdites Isles, qui seront apportez dans | les Villes de Roüen, Dieppe, Bordeaux & la Rochelle; Joüiront du Privilege de l'Estape, aprés qu'ils auront | esté Rafinez, &c. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 215

45. Declaration | du Roy, | Pour l'Etablissement d'une | Compagnie sous le titre de la Compagnie de | Guine'e, qui sera seule, à l'exclusion de tous | autres, le Commerce des Negres, de la Poudre | d'Or, & de toutes autres Marchandises qu'elle | pourra traiter és Costes d'Afrique; depuis la Ri- | viere de Serre-Lyonne inclusivement, jusques au | Cap de Bonne Esperance. | Donnée à Versailles au mois de Janvier 1685. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, à l'entrée | du Quay de Gêvres, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 3

46. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat du Roy, | Du onziéme Decembre 1685. | Qui ordonne que les Arrests du Conseil des 22. Juin | 1669. 8 & 30. Juillet 1670. Et les Baux faits à | Maistre Jean Oudiette & Jean Fauconnet

successive- | ment Fermiers du Domaine d'Occident, seront | executez: Et en consequence que les Negocians Fran- | çois qui feront commerce aux Isles de l'Ameri- | que, seront tenus de faire leur retour en France, & | d'y payer les droits des marchandises qui seront | par eux rapportées. COLOPHON: Chez la Veuve Saugrain, sur le Quay de Gêvres, au Paradis. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 90

47. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat du Roy, | Qui exempte de tous droits les Sucres provenans de la Rafinerie | établie à la Guadeloupe, par M. Château-du-Bois. | Du trentiéme Octobre 1686. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez la V. Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gêvres, au Paradis. pp. 1[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 216

1690–1699

48. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy. | Du 25. Avril 1690. | Portant, qu'à commencer du quinze May pro- | chain, Il sera levé aux Entrées du Royaume, sur | tous les Sucres rafinez en Pain & en Poudre, Can- | dis blanc & brun venans des Pays Etrangers, vingt- | deux livres dix sols du Cent pesant; Sur les Cas- | sonnades du Brezil, quinze livres; Sur les Mascoüa- | des sept livres dix sols; Et sur les Barboudes, Pa- | nelles & Sucres de S. Thomé, six livres du Cent | pesant, &c. | A Paris, | De l'Imprimerie de Georges Jouvenel, Imprimeur des | Fermes du Roy au Bureau General des Aydes. | MDCCXXI. pp. 7[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 217

49. De Par le Roy. | Sa Majesté ayant fait défenses de laisser sortir | aucuns Bâtimens de ses Sujets, . . . 9. Juillet 1691. p. 1. Marine, A². 20. f. 187

50. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Portant Reglement pour les Sucres Rafinez des | Isles Françoises au sujet des Droits d'Entrée, de | Sortie, Peages, Passages, & autres, &c. | Du 20. Janvier 1693. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M-G. Jouvenel, Imprimeurs des Fermes | du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. pp. 12. AD. XI. 48. f. 218

51. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat du Roy, | Qui ordonne qu'a commencer du premier Aoust prochain, il sera pris | & perçu deux sol sur chaque livre d'Indigo, venant de Saint Do- | mingue en France. | Du dix-huitiéme Juillet 1696. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gêvres, | au Paradis. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2ᴬ. f. 15

52. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les Habitans des Isles ne pourront obliger | les Negocians de prendre de ce qu'ils devront plus de la | moitié en Sucres Terrez. | Du vingt-six Septembre 1696. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la V. Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gêvres, au Paradis. pp. 2. AD. XI. 48. f. 219

53. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Du trentiéme Octobre 1696. | Qui ordonne l'execution de celui du douze Aoust 1671. | Et en consequence que les Sucres rafinez aux Isles | Françoises de l'Amerique, ensemble le Gingembre, Indigo, Canetice, & autres Marchandises, aprés avoir païé l'Entrée, pourront sortie de Bordeaux au | travers du Roïaume . . . sans païer aucuns Droits: . . . pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 220

54. Ordonnance | du Roy, | portant permission aux Capitaines des |

Vaisseaux armez en course pour l'Amérique, | d'y faire des Rançons . . . 7. Mars 1697. pp. 3[1]. Marine, A². 21. f. 61

55. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les Sucres bruts des Isles de l'Amerique | payeront à leur entrée dans le Rayeaume, trois livres seule- | ment du cent pesant, . . . | Du 20. Juin 1698. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de | Gesvres, du costé du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 222

56. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que dans six mois, à compter du premier | October prochain, pour toutes prefixions & délais, les | Habitans de S. Christophle qui y possedoient des Terres, | seront tenus d'y retourner, & de les mettre en cultures | du Sucres, Vivres, ou d'autres denrées necessaires pour | la subsistance & le commerce de la Colonie. | Du 20. Juin 1698. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 221

57. Reglement | du Roy, | Pour le Commerce & la Navigation | des Isles & Colonies Françoises | de l'Amerique. | Du vingtième Aoust 1698. pp. 8. PRO

58. Reglement | du Roy. | Du vingtiéme Aoust 1698. | Pour le Commerce & la Navigation des Iles & Colonies | Françoises de l'Amerique. COLOPHON: A Paris chez la veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gêvre, au Paradis. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2A. f. 13

59. Lettres Patentes | Pour l'Etablissement de la Compagnie Royale de | Saint Domingve. [Dated, Septembre, 1698.] pp. 8. NYPL

[A reissue made in 1720–1724.]

60. Lettres Patentes. | Pour l'etablissement de la | Compagnie Royale de Saint Domingue. | Données à Versailles au mois de Septembre 1698. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, & Pierre Prault, à l'entrée du | Quay de Gesvres, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2A. f. 14

61. Arrest | contradictoire | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne que les Sucres rafinez à Bordeaux, provenant | des Isles de l'Amerique, transportez en Franche-Comté & en Alsace, seront exempts des Droits de Doüane de Lyon. . . . COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M-G. Jouvenel, Imprimeurs | des Fermes du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. pp. 7[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 223

62. Arrest | du Conseil d Estat du Roy, | sa Majeste y estant | Du dixiéme Fevrier 1699. pp. 3[1]. [Revoking permission to Sieur Boitard to carry 4000 negroes to the French islands in America.] AD. VII. 3. f. 5

63. Ordonnance du roy, portant défenses aux capitaines des Vaisseaux qui vont aux Isles de l'Amerique, de prendre des Engagez, qu'ils n'ayent atteint l'age de dix huit ans; & pour regler la proportion & la qualité des Fuzils Boucanniers. Du huitième d'Avril 1699. A Paris: de l'imprimerie royale, 1699. pp. 4. NYPL

64. Extrait des Registres | du Conseil d'Etat. | Du premier Septembre 1699. | Veu au Conseil d'Etat du Roy | les Requêtes & Mémoires . . . pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 224

1700–1709

65. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Du 12. Octobre 1700. | Concernant les Sucres bruts & non raffinés, prove- | nans de l'Isle de Cayenne, qui seront déchargés | à Nantes, . . . COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M-G. Jouvenel, Imprimeurs des Fer- | mes du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. pp. 8. AD. XI. 48. f. 225

66. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les sommes payées au Bureau de Saumur | par les Negocians de Nantes, Joseph des Valonniers & | Consors, pour les Marchandises qu'ils ont fait conduire à | Nantes, pour estre transportées aux Isles Françoises de | l'Amerique, leur seront restituées par Templier, sans tirer | à consequence à l'égard des Villes de Bordeaux, la Ro- | chelle, Saint-Malo & autres. | Du vingt-sept Aoust 1701. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gesvres, | du costé du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 16

67. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy. | Du Quinziéme Mars 1702. | Qui ordonne qu'attendu la moderation des Droits d'Entrée sur | les Sucres bruts . . . COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez Guillaume Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gévres, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 227

68. Lettres Patents | sur Arrest, | en Forme de Declaration, | concernant les Fonctions, Privileges & Droits | des Controlleurs Generaux de la Marine, . . . 9. Novembre 1703. pp. 7[1]. Marine, A 2. 21. f. 399

69. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les Sucres bruts & rafinez provenans des | Prises, pourront estre transportez dans les Pays étrangers, en | les envoyant . . . | Du 23. Decembre, 1704. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de Frederic Leonard, seul Imprimeur | ordinaire du Roy pour la Guerre, les Finances & la Monoye. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 228

70. Sa Majesté estant informée qu'il perit un grand | nombre de Matelots dans les Vaisseaux qui vont | aux Isles de l'Amerique, . . . 28. Octobre 1705. pp. 1. Marine, A2. 21. f. 497

71. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui declare, conformément à la Requeste des Mar- | chands, Rafineurs & Négocians de la Ville de la | Rochelle, l'Arrest du Conseil du 11. Aoust 1669. | commun pour les Sucres . . . | Du 9, Février 1706. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M-G. Jouvenel, seuls Imprimeurs | des Fermes du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. AD. XI. 48. f. 229

72. Sa Majesté ayant par son Ordonnance du 19. Février 1698, ob- | ligé les Negotiants qui envoyent des Vaisseaux à l'Amerique, . . . 17. Novembre 1706. p. 1. Marine, A2. 21. f. 556

73. Sa Majesté estant informée que la maladie | contagieuse continuë encore à l'Amerique. 29. Decembre 1706. p. 1. Marine, A2. 21. f. 562

74. Acte | de Notorieté | donné | par Monsieur | Le Lieutenant Civil. | Sur la Question si dans l'Isle de | Saint Dominique en Amerique les Esclaves Negres sont im- | meubles. [ARMS.] A Paris, | De l'Imprimerie de Jean Baptiste Coignard, Imprimeur | ordinaire du Roy, & de l'Académie Françoise, | ruë S. Jacques, à la Bible d'or. | M. DCCVI. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 6

75. Sa Majesté ayant par son Ordonnance du 19. Novembre 1698. | obligé les Capitaines Marchands qui font le commerce des Isles Françoises de l'Amerique . . . 3. Aoust 1707. p. 1. Marine, A². 22. f. 36

1710–1714

76. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne que le Droit de trois livres qui sera perçû | sur les Sucres de Prises provenant tant des Isles Françoises de | l'Amerique, que des Colonies Etrangeres, il en sera payé . . . | Du quatriéme Fevrier 1710. pp. 7[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 230

77. Arrest du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Par lequel Sa Majesté deboulte les Rafineurs de Sucres de | la Ville de Roüen, de la Restitution par eux . . . | Du huitiéme Juillet 1710. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 231

78. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy. | Qui permet au Fermier du Domaine d'Occident, de | charger les Sucres provenans de sa Ferme, dans les | Navires des Particuliers qui partiront des Isles | pour France par préference à tous autres, jusqu'à la | concurrence du quart de la Charge de chaque Navires | en payant le Fret au prix courant des Isles lors du | chargement. | Du 14 Juillet 1711. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez la Veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée | du Quai de Gêvres, au Paradis. 1719. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 17

79. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat du Roy, | Du vingt-sept Octobre 1711. | Qui ordonne que les Sucres rafinez à Bordeaux & à la | Rochelle qui seront declarez pour la Franche Comté, | Alsace, Genéve, Savoye, Piedmont, Italie & Es- | pagne, sortiront par le Bureau d'Auxonne . . . pp. 8. AD. XI. 48. f. 232

80. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy. | Qui ordonne que le nommé Valton, Mar- | chand & Habitant de la Martinique, payera | outre les trois pour cent en essence, quarante sols | pour chacun cent pesant, des Sucres qu'il a en- | voyé de la Martinique à l'Etranger. | Du 28 Juin 1712. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez la Veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée | du Quai de Gêvres, au Paradis. 1719. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 233

81. Lettres Patentes | du Roy, | Qui permettent au Sieur Crozat Secretaire du Roy, de | faire seul le Commerce dans toutes les Terres possedées | par le Roy, & bornée par le nouveau Mexique | & autres. | Données à Fontainebleau le 14. Septembre, 1712. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve François Muguet & Hubert Muguet, Premier | Imprimeur du Roy et de son Parlement, ruë de la Harpe, | aux trois Rois. 1712. pp. 8. AD. XI. 41. f. 133

82. Lettres Patentes | du Roy, | Qui permet au Sieur Crozat Secretaire du Roy, de faire | seul le Commerce dans toutes les Terres possedées par | le Roy, et bornées par le nouveau Mexique & autres, | sous le nom de Gouvernement de la Loüisiane. | Données à Fontaine-bleau le 14. Septembre 1712. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, à l'entrée du Quay de Gêvres, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 8. AD. XI. 9. f. 93

83. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Du quatorziéme Mars 1713.

| Concernant les Sucres terrez qui passent de | Nantes à Bayonne. pp. 3[1].
AD. XI. 48. f. 234

84. De Par le Roy. | Sa Majesté estant informée que plusieurs Pro- | prietaires & Capitaines de navires, . . . 5. Juillet 1713. p. 1.
Marine, A². 23. f. 212

85. De Par le Roy. | Sa Majesté voulant faire ressentir de la Paix | qu'Elle vient de donner à ses Sujets, . . . 14. Aoust 1713. p. 1.
Marine, A². 23. f. 224

86. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui décharge les Moruës & les Huiles qui pro- | viendront de la Pesche des Sujets de Sa Majesté | à l'Isle Royale, cy-devant appellée l'Isles de | Cap Breton, de tous Droits des cinq grosses | Fermes, & autres pendant dix années. | Du 9 Septembre, 1713. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | MDCCXIII. pp. 4.
AD. XI. 41. f. 28

87. De Par le Roy. | Sa Majesté a par son Ordonnance du cinq | Juillet dernier, fait deffenses aux Proprietaires . . . 20. Novembre 1713. p. 1.
Marine, A². 23. f. 265

88. Sur ce qui a esté representé à Sa Majesté que les soins qu'Elle a pris | d'obliger les Capitaines des Navires . . . 20. Mars 1714. p. 1.
Marine, A². 23. f. 308

89. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | au Roy, | Du quinziéme Juillet 1710. | En Lettres Patentes sur iceluy. | Du dix-septiéme Septembre 1714. Qui Ordonne qu'au cas de Contestation entre le | Fermier et les Marchands, sur la qualité des Sucres | bruts & terrez, il en sera pris des Echantillons, pour | sur iceux estre procedé à la Verification par des Experts. pp. 7[1].
AD. XI. 48. f. 235

90. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy | Du 22. Septembre 1714. | Qui ordonne que faute par Jean Droüard de rappor- | ter Certificat de la décharge faite dans les Isles Fran- | çoises de l'Amerique des Marchandises chargées sur le | Vaisseau la Trompeuse, il sera tenu de payer les droits | sur les Estats qui en ont esté ou seront arrestez par le Fermier. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gévres, | du costé du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2A. f. 18

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91. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat du Roy, | Qui déboute les Negocians de la Ville de Bayonne de la restitution | par eux demandée à Francois Traffane Fermier du Domaine d'Occident, tant du Droit de quarante sols par Quintal que ledit Fer- | mier a reçû sur les Sucres bruts, terrés & raffinés du crû des Isles | Françoises de l'Amerique, . . . Du vingt-cinquiéme Juin 1715. [Incomplete, pp. 1–8.] AD. XI. 48. f. 236

92. Extrait des Registres du Conseil | d'Etat. | Sur ce qui a été representé au Roy étant en son Conseil, | par les Directeurs . . . 19. Aoust 1715. pp. 3[1]. Marine, A². 23. f. 425

93. Ordonnance | du Roy, | servant de Reglement | pour le | Conseil de Marine. | Donnée à Vincennes le 3. Novembre 1715. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXV. pp. 14. AD. VII. 3. f. 98

94. Edit | du Roy, | Qui décharge les Negocians de l'obligation de prendre | des Passeports de Sa Majesté, . . . A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | MDCCXVI. pp. 7[1]. Marine, A². 23. f. 490

95. Lettres Patentes | du Roy, | Pour la liberté du Commerce de la | Coste de Guinée. Janvier 1716. pp. 11[1]. Marine, A². 23. f. 449

96. Ordonnance | du Roy, | servant de Reglement | pour le | Conseil de Commerce. | Donnée à Paris le 4. Janvier 1716. | A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXVI. pp. 11[1]. AD. XI. 9. f. 41

97. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne que les Negocians qui ont envoyé des Navires | en Guinée depuis le mois de Novembre 1713. joüiront | de l'Exemption de la moitié des Droits. | Du 25. Janvier 1716. COLOPHON: A Paris, | De l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXVI. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. f. 19

98. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne que les Negocians qui ont envoyé des Navires | en Guinée, payeront les sommes portées par leurs soumissions, | entre les mains du Tresorier General de la Marine. | Du 28. Janvier 1716. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | MDCCXVI. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 6a

99. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne que les Negocians qui ont envoyé des Navires | en Guinée, payeront les sommes . . . 28. Janvier 1716. pp. 2. Marine, A². 23. f. 469

100. Declaration | du Roy, | Qui deffend à tous ses Sujets le Commerce & la | Navigation de la Mer du Sud, à peine de mort. 29. Janvier 1716. pp. 3[1]. Marine, A². 23. f. 487

101. Declaration | du Roy, | Qui défend à tous ses Sujets le Commerce & la | Navigation de la Mer du Sud. | Donnée à Paris le 29. Janvier 1716. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve de François Muguet, Hubert Muguet, Pre- | mier Imprimeur du Roy, & Loüis Denis de la Tour | Libraire, ruë de la Harpe, aux trois Rois. 1716. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 97

102. Statvts et Reglemens | Faits par la Compagnie Royale de Saint Domingue, | en execution de l'Article XXIII. des Lettres Patentes de son Eta- | blissement du mois de Septembre 1698, pour la Regie, Police, | & Conduite de ses Habitations & de son Commerce dans l'étendue | de sa Colonie. [Dated, June 25, 1716.] pp. 7[1]. NYPL

103. Ordonnance du Roy | Donnée à Paris le 11. Juillet 1716. | Servant de Reglement pour | le Conseil de Marine. pp. 8. AD. VII. 3. f. 99

104. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Du 8 Aoust 1716. | Et | Lettres Patentes | Expediées en consequence le 24 dudits mois & an. | Concernant les Passeports qui ont esté expediés, pour negocier | dans les Isles Françoises de l'Amerique. pp. 12. AD. VII. 2ᴬ. f. 20

105. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat du Roy | Qui ordonne que les Marchandises qui seront apportées | par les Sujets de Sa Majesté de la Coste de Guinée, | où des Isles Françoises de l'Amerique, provenant de la | vente & du troc des Negres, joüiront de l'exemption de | la moitié des Droits d'Entrée dans les Ports du Havre de | Grace & de Honfleur, quoique lesdits Ports ne soient pas | nommez dans les Lettres Patentes du mois de Janvier 1716 | & Arrest du 25. dudit mois. | Du 11. Aoust 1716. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de | Gêvres, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 7

106. Edit du Roy, | concernant les Esclaves Negres | des Colonies. | Donné à Paris au mois d'Octobre 1716. COLOPHON: Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, à l'entrée | du Quay de Gêvres, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 8

107. Reglement | au Sujet | des Engagez et Fusils, | Qui doivent estre portez par les Navires Mar- | chands aux Colonies des Isles Françoises de | l'Amerique, Et de la Nouvelle France, Avec | les Lettres Patentes du Roy pour l'Enregis- | trement dudit Reglement. | Du 16. Novembre 1716. [ARMS.] A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCC. XVI. pp. 11[1]. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 21

109. Declaration | du Roy, | Portant que les Negocians qui vont faire la | traitte des Noirs à la Coste de Guinée, n'y | payeront pour trois Negrillons qui ont esté | ou seront debarquez en Amerique, que sur | le pied de deux Negres, & de deux Negrittes | pour un Negre. | Donnée à Paris le 14. Decembre 1716. COLOPHON: Chez la Veuve de François Muguet, Hubert Muguet, | Premier Imprimeur du Roy, & Loüis Denis de la Tour | Libraire, ruë de la Harpe, aux trois Rois. 1717. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 9

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109. Règlement concernant les sieges d'amirauté Que le Roy veut estre Establis dans tous les Ports des Isles & Colonies Françoises, en quelque partie du monde qu'elles soient situées; Avec les Lettres Patentes pour l'Enregistrement dudit Règlement. Du 12 Janvier 1717. A Paris: l'imprimerie royale. 1717. pp. 16. NYPL

110. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui deffend tout Commerce aux Officier | sur les Vaisseaux du Roy. | Donnée à Paris le 13. Mars 1717. | A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | MDCCXVII. pp. 4. Marine, A^{2}. 24. f. 42

111. Lettres Patentes | du Roy, | Portant Reglement pour le Commerce des | Colonies Françoises. | Du mois d'Avril 1717. | A Paris, | Chez P. Prault, Imprimeur des Fermes & Droits du Roy, | Quay de Gêvres, au Paradis. M. DCC. LIII. pp. 16. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 22

112. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui deffend aux Capitaines des Vaisseaux qui | apporteront des Negres aux Isles, . . . Du 3. Avril 1718. | A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | MDCCXVIII. pp. 4. Marine, A^{2}. 24. f. 142

113. Declaration du roy, Qui attribue la connoissance des affaires de la Compagnie de Saint Domingue aux officiers de l'Amirauté générale de France au Siege de la Table de Marbre à Paris. Donné à Paris le 22. Juin 1717. pp. 4. NYPL

114. Lettres Patentes | en Forme d'Edit, | Portant Establissement d'une Compagnie de | Commerce, sous le nom de Compagnie | d'Occident. | Donnés à Paris au mois d'Aoust 1717. | Registrées en Parlement. [WOOD-CUT.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXVII. pp. 19[1]. AD. XI. 9. f. 74

115. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Nomme les Directeurs de la | Compagnie d'Occident. | Du 12. Septembre 1717. | A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, & Pierre Prault, à l'entrée du | Quay de Gêvres, du côté du Pont au Change, | au Paradis. | M. D. CCXX. pp. 2. AD. XI. 9. f. 75

116. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat du Roy, | Qui ordonne que le Reglement du mois d'Avril | 1717. pour le Commerce des Colonies Françoises | sera executé par les Marchands & Negocians | de Bayonne, & casse une Ordonnance renduë | par le Sieur Intendant de la Genera- | lité d'Auch outra la disposition dudit Reglement. | Du seizieme Novembre 1717. COLOPHON: A Paris, Chez la veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gêvre, | du costé du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 8.
AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 23

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117. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui dispense les Vaisseaux armez par la | Compagnie d'Occident pour la Loüisiane, d'y | porter les Engagez & Fusils, à quoy sont | assujetis les Vaisseaux destinez pour les Colo- | nies, par le Reglement du 16. Novembre 1716. | Du dixiéme Janvier 1718. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez Joseph Saugrain, au milieu du Quay de Gesvres, | à la Croix Blanche. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 24

118. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | En faveur des Entrepreneurs de la Rafinerie | establie dans le Port de Sette. | Du 15. Janvier 1718. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXVII. pp. 4.
AD. XI. 48. f. 238

119. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat | du Roy, | Qui interdit le Commerce des Isles Françoises aux Negocians | & Habitans de la Ville de Dunkerque & les maintient dans | la Franchise de leur Ville, Port & Havre, conformément | aux Declarations & Arrests des mois de Novembre 1662. | 30. Janvier & 16 Fevrier 1700. | Du vingt-deuxiéme Janvier 1718. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gesvres, | du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 25

120. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui deffend aux Capitaines des Vaisseaux qui | apporteront des Negres aux Isles, de descendre | à terre, ni d'y envoyer leurs Equipages, sans en | avoir obtenu les permissions des Gouverneurs. | Du 3. Avril 1718. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXVIII. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 10

121. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Concernant le Commerce qui se fait aux Isles | Françoises de l'Amerique, des Moruës seches, Et des | Huiles provenant de la Péche des Sujets de Sa Ma- | jesté, à l'Isle Royale. | Du 20. May 1718. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, & Pierre Prault, | Imprimeur des Fermes du Roy, Quay de | Gesvres, au Paradis. 1726. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 26

122. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Concernant les Rafineries du Royaume, Et qui confirme | les Lettres Patentes du mois d'Avril 1717. renduës sur | le Commerce de Colonies Françoises de l'Amerique. | Du 7. Aoust 1718. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXVIII. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 27

123. Lettres Patentes | sur Arrest. | Concernant le Commerce | de la Nouvelle Colonie de la Loüisianne. | Données à Paris le vingt-six Aoust 1718. [ARMS.] A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, à l'Entrée du Quay | de Gévres, au Paradis. | M D CXVIII. pp. 10.
AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 28.

124. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Portant Reglement au sujet des Departemens | du Conseil de Commerce. | Du 24. Octobre 1718. [Arms.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M DCCXVIII. pp. 7[1]. AD. XI. 9. f. 43

125. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui permet à tous François d'envoyer à la | Colonie de Saint Loüis Côte Saint Domin- | gue, des Vaisseaux chargez de Vivres & | Marchandises, depuis le 15. Novembre pro- | chain jusqu'au 15. May 1719. inclusivement. | Du 24. Octobre 1718. [Arms.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M DCCXVIII. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 29.

126. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Concernant les Soldats, Ouvriers, Et autres gens Engagez au Service | de la Compagnie d'Occident, & des Habitans qui passent | a la Loüisianne pour s'y Establir. | Du 8. Novembre 1718. Colophon: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXVIII. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 29a

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127. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | En faveur des Sujets de Sa Majesté qui font | le Commerce de Guinée. | Du 9. Decembre 1718. Colophon: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1719. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 30

128. Lettres Patentes | du Roy, | Pour permettre aux Négocians de Lan- | guedoc de faire le Commerce de | Guinée. | Données à Paris au mois de Janvier 1719. [Arms.] A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, & Pierre Prault, à l'entrée du | Quay de Gêvres, du côté du Pont au Change, | au Paradis. | M. D CC. XX. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2A. f. 32

129. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Pour le Commerce des Colonies Françoises. | Du 11. Janvier 1719. Colophon: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1719. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 31

130. Lettres Patentes | du Roy, | Portant Reglement pour le Commerce qui se | fait de Marseille aux Isles Françoises | de l'Amerique. | Données à Paris au mois de Fevrier 1719. [Arms.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXIX. pp. 12. AD. VII. 2A. f. 33

131. Ordonnance | de la Compagnie | d'Occident, | Concernant le prix des Marchandises à la Loüisianne. | A Paris le 25. Avril 1719. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez la V. Saugrain et P. Prault, à l'entrée du | Quay de Gêvres, au Paradis, 1721. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 34

132. Ordonnance du roy, En forme de Règlement, Sur ce que le Roi Veut être observé dans les Colonies par rapport aux Matelots qui deserteront des Vaisseaux de ses Sujets. A Paris le 22. May 1719. pp. 3. NYPL

133. Lettres Patentes | de Concession | de l'Isle de Saint Jean, et de celles | De Miscou, situées dans le Golfe de S. Laurent, | pour M. le Comte de S. Pierre. | Du mois Aoust 1719. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, à l'entrée | du Quay de Gêvres, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradise. pp. 12. AD. VII. 2A. f. 36

134. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Permet à tous François de continüer | d'Envoyer à la Colonie de Saint Loüis, Côte | de Saint

Domingue, des Vaisseaux chargez | de Vivres & Marchandises pendant six mois. | Du premier Aoust 1719. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXIX. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 35

135. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui Deffend aux Gouverneurs & Lieutenans | Generaux, Gouverneurs Particuliers & In- | tendans des Colonies, d'avoir des Habitations. | A Paris le 7. Novembre 1719. | A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXIX. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 37

136. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Contre les Capitaines ou Facteurs des Vaisseau | Marchands, qui font le Commerce Estranger | aux Isles Françoises de l'Amerique. | A Paris le 26. Novembre 1719. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXIX. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 38

137. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui ordonnes que les Sucres qui passeront de la Ville de Dunkerque | dans la Flandres Françoise, seront réputez Etrangers, & | payeront les Droits portez par l'Arrest du 25. Avril 1690. | sans préjudice de l'execution de l'Arrest du 14. May 1718. | rendu en faveur de la Rafinerie du Sieur Langhete. Du 24. Decembre, 1719. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, à l'entrée | du Quay de Gêvres, au Paradis. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 240

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138. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Portant Reglement pour les Farines qui s'Envoyent | dans les Colonies. | Du premier Fevrier 1720. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1720. pp. 4.
AD. VII. 2A. f. 34

139. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne que les Proprietaires des Offices | & Droits supprimez, qui n'ont pas encore | reçeû leurs Remboursemens, en tout ou partie, | sur le produit des Impositions sur lesquelles | ils avoient esté assig- | nez, seront Remboursez | sur les Quinze Cens Millions que la Com- | pagnie des Indes s'est engagée de prester au | Roy; Et nomme des Commissaires pour en | faire la Liquidation. | Du 23. Fevrier 1720. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXX. pp. 4. NYPL

140. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Permet à tous les Sujets de Sa Majesté, de | faire venir des Tabac en Feüilles de la Ha- | vanne & du Levant, En payant les Droits | d'Entrée au Brut. . . . | Du 3. Mars 1720. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXX. pp. 4. AD. XI. 49. f. 82

141. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne qu'il ne sera plus envoyé de | Vagabonds, Gens sans aveû, Fraudeurs & | Criminels à la Loüisianne; Que les ordres | qui Sa Majesté auroit pû donner à ce sujet | seront changez, Et la destination desdits | Vagabonds faite pour les autres Colonies | Françoises. | Du 9. May 1720. [Arms.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. D. CCXX. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 22

142. Reglement | du Roy, | Concernant le Commerce Estranger dans les | Colonies. | A Paris le 23. Juillet 1720. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXX. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 41

143. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Servant de Reglement pour le Conseil | de Marine. | Donnée à Paris le 31. Aoust 1720. [Arms.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale, | MDCCXX. pp. 12. AD. VII. 3. 100

144. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne que les Droits de Trois pour Cent sur les | Marchandises du crû des Isses Françoises de l'Amerique, | arrivées dans les Ports de France, pendant l'année du Bail | de Lambert, commencée pour le Domaine d'Occident au | premier Janvier 1719. & ceux de quarante sols du cent | pesant des Sucres terrez, & des trente-trois sols quatre | deniers des Sucres bruts destinez pour la consommation du | Royaume pendant ladite année 1719. seront payer audit | Lambert, ses Commis & Préposez, & qu'il en sera usé | de même dans les changemens des Baux de la ladite Ferme. | Du Dixieme Septembre 1720. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez la V. Saugrain, à l'entrée du Quay de Gévres, | du costé du Pont au Change, au Paradis. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 241

145. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Accorde & Réünit à perpetuité à la Compagnie des Indes le | Privilege Exclusif pour le Commerce de la Côte de Guinée. | Du 27. Septembre 1720. Colophon: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1720. pp. 4. NYPL

146. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne que les Tabacs pourront entrer dans | le Royaume par le Port de l'Orient, & que la | Manufacture establie dans la Ville de l'Orient, | y restera nonobstant les dispositions portées par la | Déclaration du dix-sept Octobre dernier. | Du 17. Novembre 1720. Colophon: A Paris, | chez la Veuve Saugrain, & Pierre Prault, | à l'entrée du Quay de Gesvres, au Paradis. 1720. pp. 3[1]. NYPL

[On Louisiana.]

1721

147. Lettres Patentes | de Concession | Des Isles de la Madelaine & Brion ou Ramées, en faveur | de M. le Comte de Saint Pierre. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, à l'entrée | du Quay de Gêvres, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. 1721. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 39

148. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Portant Restablissement du Privilege Exclusif de la | Vente du Castor, en faveur de la Compagnie des | Indes. | Du 30. May 1721. Colophon: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale, | M. DCCXXI. pp. 3[1]. NYPL

149. Reglement que le Roy Veut & Entend | estre observé pour les Recensemens qui se font | dans la Colonie de Saint Domingue. | Du 26. Aoust 1721. Colophon: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1721. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 42

150. Ordonnance | de Nosseigneurs | les Commisaires | du Conseil | Deputez par le Roy pour la Regie de la Compagnie | des Indes. | En faveur des Habitans de la Colonie de la Loüisianne. | Du 2. Septembre 1721. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, & Pierre Prault, à l'entrée du | Quay de Gesvres, du côté du Pont au Change, au Paradis. 1721. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 107

151. Lettres Patentes | du Roy, | Qui accordent à la Ville de Dun

kerque, la | liberté de faire le Commerce aux Isles Fran- | coises de l'Amerique. Données à Paris au mois d'Octobre 1721. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de Georges Jouvenel, Imprimeur | des Fermes du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. pp. 11[1]. AD. VII. 2^A. f. 43

1722

152. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne l'Execution de celuy du 30. May 1721. Portant | Establissement du Privilege Exclusif de la Vente du Castor, | en faveur de la Compagnie des Indes. | Du 28. Janvier 1722. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1722. pp. 3[1]. NYPL

153. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat, | du Roy, | Qui Ordonne que, conformément aux Lettres Patentes du mois | d'Avril 1717. Toutes les Marchandises du Crû des Isles & | Colonies Françoises, même celles provenantes de la Traite des | Noirs, payeront le Droit de Trois pour cent, deû à la Ferme | du Domaine d'Occident. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1722. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 163

154. Declaration | du Roy, | concernant les Marchandises des | Colonies Françoises. | Donnée à Paris le 14. Mars 1722. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez Louis-Denis Delatour & Pierre | Simon, Imprimeurs du Parlement & de la Cour | des Aydes, rüe de la Harpe, aux trois Rois. 1722. pp. 4. NYPL AD. VII. 2^A. f. 44

155. Declaration du Roy, | Portant, Que faute par les Maistres des Bastimens | venant des Isles Françoises, de representer aux Bureaux | des Fermes a leur arrivée en France, un Estat signé | des Commis du Domaine d'Occident ausdites Isles, des | Marchandises y chargées, où de rapporter les Marchan- | dises conforme audit Estat, ils seront reputez en avoir | fait Commerce avec l'Etranger, & lesdits Vaisseaux | & Marchandises confisquez & les Proprietaires; en- | semble les Capitaines, & Maistres desdits Bastimens | condamnez en 1000 liv. d'amende. | Du quatorze Mars 1722. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 105

156. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, Du quatre Juillet 1722. | Portant Reglement | Pour la Perception du Droit de Poids ou d'Un | pour Cent, sur les Marchandises du Cru des | Isles Françoises de l'Amerique, &c. | A Paris, | De l'Imprimerie de Georges Jouvenel, Imprimeur | des Fermes du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. | MDCCXXII. pp. 8. NYPL

157. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Accorde au Sr. de La Saudre Lefer le Benefice de l'Entrepost, | pour 100. Barrils de Lard, 200. Barrils de Saumon salé, 200. | Barrils de Beurre & 200. Caisses de Chandelles; Permet aux Nego- | cians François qui font le Commerce des Isles Françoises de l'Ame- | rique, de faire venir des Pays Estrangers, sans payer aucuns Droits | d'Entrée, les Lards, Beurres, Chandelles & Saumons salez qu'ils destineront pour les Isles, à la charge d'estre mises à leur arrivée dans les magasins d'Entrepost. | Du 15. Juillet 1722. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1722. pp. 3[1]. NYPL

158. Arrest | du Conseil destat | du Roy, | Qui casse une Ordonnance de M. l'Intendant de la Martini- | que, & confisque un Navire appar-

tenant au nommé Clarck, | ensemble les marchandises de son chargemen rapportées | d'Amsterdam, ou la valeur d'icelles, & le condamne en outre en | 3000 livres d'amende, pour n'avoir pas fait son retour en | France & avoir porté ausdites Isles des marchandises de | contrebande prises à Amsterdam. | Du 13 Octobre 1722. COLOPHON: A Paris, Chez la veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, | à l'entrée du Quay de Gêvres, au Paradis. 1722. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 108

159. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Du premier Decembre 1722. | Pour faire passer aux Marchands & Negocians | qui font le Commerce aux Isles Françoises, un | Dixiéme sur chaque quantité des Marchandises | qui manqueront de celles comprises dans l'Etat | de chargement aux Isles, visé par le Commis du | Domaine d'Occident, sans que lesdits Negocians | puissent encourir les peines portées par la Decla- | ration du 14. Mars 1722. lorsque sur les Marchan- | dises comprises dans ledit Etat; il ne manquera | qu'un Dixiéme de la totalité de chaque nature & | qualité desdites Marchandises. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M-G. Jouvenel, Imprimeurs des Fermes | du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 46

160. Règlement des Droits & Salaires des Officiers des Sieges d'Amirauté des Isles du Vent de l'Amérique. A Versailles le 7. Decembre 1722. pp. 7. NYPL

161. Ordonnance | du Roy, | pour la Défense des jeux | aux Colonies Françoises de l'Amerique. | A Versailles le quinziéme Decembre 1722. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 47

162. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat | du Roy, | Du 15. Decembre 1722. | Qui casse une Ordonnance de M. l'Intendant de la | Martinique; Ordonne l'execution des Reglemens, | concernant la deffense du Commerce Etranger dans | les Isles Françoises; & pour la Contravention com- | mise par le Sieur Thery Negociant de la Martini- | que, confisque les Marchandises chargées à Cadix | dans le Batteau le Saint-Michel, ensemble ledit | Batteau & Equipage sur luy saisis; & le condamne | en Trois mille livres d'amende. | A Paris, | De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M-G. Jouvenel, Imprimeurs | des Fermes du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. | MDCCXXII. pp. 12. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 48

163. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Du 22. Decembre 1722. | Qui Casse une Sentence des Elûs d'Angers, | & maintient le Fermier des Aydes dans la | perception des Droits de double & triple | Cloison sur les Sucres & autre marchandises | venant des Isles françoises de l'Amerique. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M.-G. Jouvenel, Imprimeurs des Fer- | mes du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. pp. 8.
AD. XI. 48. f. 242

1723

164. Declaration | du Roy, | Qui fixe à un an le temps des Entreposts des | Marchandises destinées pour les Isles | de l'Amerique. | Donnée à Versailles le 19 Janvier 1723. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez Louis-Denis Delatour & Pierre Simon, | Imprimeurs du Parlement & de la Cour des Aydes, | ruë de la Harpe, aux trois Rois. 1723. pp. 4. NYPL. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 49

165. Declaration | du Roy, | Qui fixe à un an le tems des Entrepôts des Marchandises des- | tinées pour les Isles de l'Amérique. | Donnée à Versailles le 19. Janvier 1723. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de G. Lamesle Imprimeur des Fermes du Roy, au | Bureau Général des Aydes, 1744. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 166

166. Lettres patentes | sur Arrest, | Qui ordonnent qu'à l'avenir les vins de la Loire | sortans des cinq grosses Fermes, quoyque destinez | pour les Isles, acquitteront les droits de sortie | ordinaires. | Données à Versailles le 22. May 1723. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez Louis-Denis Delatour & Pierre Simon, | Imprimeurs du Parlement & de la Cour des Aydes, | ruë de la Harpe, aux trois Rois. 1723. pp. 4. NYPL

167. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Ordonne que pendant dix années, à commencer du pre- | mier Janvier 1724. les Moruës, tant vertes que sé- | ches, & les Huiles qui proviendront de la Pesche des | Sujets de Sa Majesté à l'Isle Royale, appellée cy-de- | vant l'Isle de Cap-Breton, demeureront déchargeés | dans tous les Ports du Royaume, tant de l'Ocean que | de la Mediterrannée & à Ingrande, de tous Droits | d'Entrée des Cinq Grosses Fermes. | Du 3. May 1723. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXIII. pp. 4. AD. XI. 41. f. 59

168. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui fait deffenses à tous Armateurs & Negocians, faisant | le commerce des Isles & Colonies Françoises de l'Ame- | rique, d'y envoyer des étoffes & toiles peintes des Indes, | de Perse, de la Chine ou du Levant. | Du 9. May 1723. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXIII. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 68

169. Lettres Patentes | sur Arrest, | Qui fixent à un an le tems de l'entrepost des mar- | chandises venant des Isles & Colonies Fran- | coises dans les Ports y dénommez: & de cel- | les qui seront déclarées par entrepost pour | lesdites Isles. | Données à Versailles le 21. May 1723. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez Louis-Denis Delatour & Pierre Simon, | Imprimeurs du Parlement & de la Cour des Aydes, | ruë de la Harpe, aux trois Rois. 1723. pp. 4. NYPL. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 50

170. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Révoque les permissions cy-devant accordées aux | Negocians du Royaume, | de faire passer à Cadiz, à | Génes, à Livourne & à Naples, directement des | Isles Françoises de l'Amerique, des Marchandises du | crû desdites Isles. | Du 14. Juin 1723. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXIII. pp. 3[1]. NYPL. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 51

171. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui déboute les Sieurs Montuy & Caluet Negocians de | la Martinique, de leur demande en restitution des droits | de Quarante sols par Cent pesant de Sucres bruts par | eux renvoyés en Irlande, d'où ils ont rapporté du | Bœuf salé. | Du sixiéme Juillet 1723. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M-G. Jouvenel, Imprimeurs | des Fermes du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 243

172. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui Proroge pendant un an la permission accor- | dée aux Negocians François qui font le Com- | merce des Isles Françoises de l'Amerique, de | faire venir des Lards, Suifs, Beurres & Sau- | mons salez des Pays Estrangers, sans payer |

aucun Droits. | Du 16. Aoust 1723. [Arms.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale | M. DCCXXIII. pp. 4. NYPL

173. Declaration | du Roy, | Portant Deffenses à tous Sujets du Roy, de s'interesser dans | la Compagnie de Commerce nouvellement | Establie à Ostende. 16. Aoust 1723. Marine, A². 25. f. 167

174. Declaration | du Roy, | Portant défenses à tous Sujets du Roy | de s'interesser dans la Compagnie de com- | merce nouvellement établie à Ostende. | Donnée a Versailles le 16 Aoust 1723. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez Louis-Denis Delatour & Pierre Simon, | Imprimeurs de Parlement & de la Cour des Aydes, | ruë de la Harpe, aux trois Rois. 1723. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 76

175. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui exempte de tous Droits des Fermes, les Moruës vertes, | & seches, & les Huiles, qui proviendront de la Pesche | des Sujets du Roy, à l'Isle S. Jean. | Du 13 Septembre, 1723. Colophon: A Paris, Chez la Veuve Saugrain, & Pierre Prault | Imprimeur des Fermes & Droits du Roy, Quay de Gesvres, | au Paradis. 1723. pp. 4. AD. XI. 41. f. 60

176. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Concernant le payement des anciennes dettes | des Colonies. | Du 28. Decembre 1723. Colophon: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1724. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 51

1724

177. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Au sujet des Engagez. | Du 15. Fevrier 1724. Colophon: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXIV. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 52a

178. Le Code Noir, | ou, | Edit du Roy, | servant de Reglement | pour | Le Gouvernement & l'Administration de la Justice, Po- | lice, Discipline & le Commerce des Esclaves Negres, | dans la Province & Colonie de la Loüisianne. | Donné à Versailles au mois de Mars 1724. Colophon: A Paris, Chez la Veuve Saugrain, et Pierre Prault, | Imprimeur des Fermes du Roy, Quay de Gesvres: | au Paradis. 1728. pp. 15[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 13

179. Ordonnance | du Roy, | En interpretation de celle du 3 Avril 1718, au | sujet des Vaisseaux qui font la traite des Negres | aux Isles Françoises de l'Amerique. | Du 25 Juillet 1724. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, Imprimeur des | Fermes & Droits du Roy, Quay de Gesvres, au Paradis, 1725. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 14

180. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Pour le payement de la gratification de treize livres par teste | de Negre, & de vingt livres par chaque marc ou marieres | de poudre d'Or que la Compagnie du Senegal & Coste d'A- | frique feroit entrer en France, venant des pays de sa con- | cession, accordée à ladite Compagnie par l'Article XXIV. | des Lettres Patentes de Sa Majesté du mois de Mars | 1696. portant établissement de ladite Compagnie. | Du 22. Aoust 1724. Colophon: A Paris, | Chez La Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, Imprimeur des Fermes | & Droits du Roy, à l'entrée du Quay de Gesvres, au Paradis. 1725. pp. 8. AD. VII. 3. f. 15

181. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Portant Prorogation pendant un an, de la Permission cy-devant | accordée aux Negocians François qui font le commerce des Isles | Françoises de l'Amerique, de faire venir des Pays Estrangers | des Lards, Beurres, Suifs, Chandelles & Saumons salez, sans | payer aucuns Droits. | Du 12. Septembre 1724. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXIV. pp. 3[1]. NYPL

182. Règlement des Droits, Salaires & Vacations des Officiers des Sieges d'Amirauté des Isles du vent de l'Amerique. Du 26. Decembre 1724. pp. 4. NYPL

That Library also lists a second issue in 1725, in pp. 8.

1725

183. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui confirme la Saisie faite aux Isles Françoises de | l'Amerique, d'un Batteau Anglois & des Bestiaux | & autres Marchandises de son chargement, apar- | tenant au Sieur Bron, Negociant, qui vouloit les | faire entrer dans lesdites Isles, en contravention | du Reglement du 20 Aoust 1698. qui deffend tout | Commerce étranger dans lesdites Isles. | Du seize Janvier 1725. | A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, & Pierre Prault, Imprimeur | des Fermes & Droits du Roy, Quay de Gesvres, au Paradis. | M. DCC. XXV. pp. 6. AD. VII. 2A. f. 53

184. Reglement pour l'establissement | & l'entretien des Chemins Royaux, publics | & de communication, aux Isles du Vent de | l'Amerique. | Du 17. Avril 1725. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royal 1725. pp. 16. AD. VII. 2A. f. 54

185. Reglement | pour l'Etablissement | et l'Entretien | des Chemins Royaux | Publics & de communication aux Isles | du Vent de l'Amerique. | Du dix-sept Avril mil sept cens vingt-cinq. A Paris. | Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, Imprimeur | des Fermes & Droits du Roy, Quay de Gesvres, au Paradis. | M. DCC. XXVI. pp. 13[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 16

186. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy. | Qui exempte pendant dix années, des droits de Foraine | & Doüane de Valence, les Moruës seches & les Huiles | de Poisson provenant de la Péche des Sujets du Roy à | l'Isle Royale, cy-devant appellee l'Isle de Cap-Breton. | Du 29. May 1725. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M-G. Jouvenel, seuls | Imprimeurs des Ferm. du Roy, au Bur. general des Aydes. pp. 4. AD. XI. 41. f. 61

187. Edit | du Roy, | Pour la décharge & liberation de la | Compagnie des Indes. | Donné à Versailles au mois de Juin 1725. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1725. pp. 12. NYPL

188. Edit | du Roy, | Portant confirmation des Privileges accor- | dez, Concessions & Alienations faites | à la Compagnie des Indes. | Donné à Versailles au mois de Juin 1725. | Registré en Parlement. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXV. pp. 11[1]. NYPL

189. Edit | du Roy, | Portant confirmation des Privileges accordés, Conces- | sions & Alienations faites à la Compagnie des Indes. | Donné à Versailles au mois de Juin 1725. | Registré en Parlement. | A Paris, |

Chez la Veuve Saugrain & Pierre Prault, Imprimeur | des Fermes & Droits du Roy, Quay de Gesvres au Paradis. | M. DCC. XXV. pp. 12. [Louisiana and Castor.] AD. XI. 49. f. 214

190. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les Sucres de Cayenne provenans de la | Traite des Noirs, que la Compagnie des Indes fera | entrer dans le Royaume par les Ports de Bretagne, ne | payeront à leur arrivée que la moitié des droits de la | Prevôté de Nantes, & des autres droits locaux, & | quarante sols aussi du cent pesant, lorsqu'elle les fera | entrer dans l'intèrieur des Cinq Grosses Fermes pour y | être consommez. | Du 5. Juin 1725. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M-G. Jouvenel, seuls Imprimeurs des Fermes du | Roy au Bureau general des Aydes. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 245

191. Lettres Patentes | sur Arrest, | Qui moderent à trois livres deux sols trois deniers | par quintal les droits d'Entrées des cinq grosses | Fermes sur les Sucres raffinez dans les Provinces | reputées etrangeres. | Données à Chantilly le 17. Juillet 1725. [Followed by: Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat, 15 Juin 1725, on sugar and cottons.] COLOPHON: A Paris, Chez Louis-Denis Delatour, Imprimeur de | le Cour des Aydes, ruë de la Harpe, aux trois Rois. 1725. pp. 8. AD. XI. 48. f. 246

192. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les Sucres & autres marchandises | des Isles & Colonies Françoises, qui proviendront | de la Traitte des Negres, faite par les Negocians du | Royaume, en vertu des permissions qui ont été ou qui | seront cy après données par la Compagnie des Indes, | joüiront de l'exemption de la moitié des droits portés | par les Lettres Patentes du mois d'Avril 1717. confor- | mement à l'article XIX. des Lettres Patentes du mois | de Mars 1696. | Du 20. Novembre 1725. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve & M-G. Jouvenel, seuls Imprimeurs des Fer- | mes du Roy, au Bureau General des Aydes. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 247

1726

193. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui permet aux Negocians François, de porter en | droiture des Isles Françoises de l'Amerique dans | les Ports d'Espagne, les Sucres de toutes especes, | à l'exception des Sucres bruts, ensemble toutes | les autres Marchandises du crû desdites Isles Françoises. | Du 27. Janvier 1726. | A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXVII. pp. 4. AD. XI. 48. f. 248

194. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pendant un an, à compter du vingt-trois Octobre | prochain la permission ci-devant accordée aux Negocians | François qui font le Commerce des Isles & Colonies Fran- | çoises de l'Amerique, de faire venir des Païs Etrangers des | Lards, Beurres, Suifs, Chandelles & Saumons salez, sans | payer aucuns Droits. | Du 16 Juillet 1726. COLOPHON: A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, et Pierre Prault, | Imprimeur des Fermes du Roy, Quay de Gesvres, | au Paradis. 1726. pp. 3[1]. NYPL

195. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Concernant le Commerce des Isles Françoises de l'Amerique. | Du 3. Septembre 1726. COLOPHON:

A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain, & Pierre Prault, Imprimeur | des Fermes du Roy, Quay de Gesvres, | au Paradis. 1726. pp. 3[1].
AD. VII. 2A. f. 55

196. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les Marchandises du crû des Isles du vent de l'Ame- | rique, qui seront destinées pour estre transportées à l'Isle Royale, | seront exemptes pendant dix années à commencer du premier Janvier | 1727. du Droit de poids d'Un pour cent.

Que celles du crû desdites Isles destinées tant pour ladite Isle Royale, | que pour le Canada, seront dechargées du Droit de Trois pour cent | du Domaine d'Occident, ensemble du Droit de Quarante sols par | quintal sur les Sucres qui y seront envoyez desdites Isles. | Du 31. Decembre 1726. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1727. pp. 3[1].
AD. VII. 2A. f. 55a

1727–1728

197. Lettres Patentes | du Roy, | en Forme d'Edit, | Concernant le Commerce estranger aux Isles & Colonies | de l'Amerique. | Données à Fontainebleau au mois d'Octobre 1727. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1727. pp. 16. AD. VII. 2A. f. 56

198. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Portant deffense d'exposer ou recevoir dans les Provinces de | l'obéissance de Sa Majesté en Europe, aucunes Especes de | Cuivre destinées pour les Colonies de l'Amerique. | Du 20. Mars 1728. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1728. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 57

199. Arrest | du Conseil d Estat | du Roy, | Portant Reglement au sujet des contestations entre l'Amirauté de | France & les Fermiers generaux, sur la competence des matieres | de la contrebande & du commerce prohibé qui se fait tant en mer | & dans les Ports, Havres & Rivages du Royaume, qu'aux Isles | & Colonies françoises de l'Amerique. | Du 25. May 1728. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXVIII. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2A. f. 58

200. Reglement en Interpretation de celuy | du 5. Aoust 1721. concernant la Division | & l'Estenduë des Capitaineries Garde- | Costes de Guienne. | Du 23. Aout 1728. pp. 4. Marine, A2. 26. f. 89

201. Lettres Patentes | Portant reglement pour les Marchandises | que les Negocians du Royaume pourront | tirer de Hollande & du Nord pour le Com- | merce de Guinée. | Données à Fontainebleau le 7. Septembre 1728. COLOPHON: A Paris, Chez Pierre Simon, Imprimeur du | Parlement, ruë de la Harpe, à l'Hercule. 1728. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 18

202. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Concernant les Pilotins qui seront | embarquez sur les Vaisseaux | de Sa Majesté. | Du 7 Septembre 1728. pp. 4. Marine, A2. 26. f. 101

203. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Du 7. Septembre 1728. | Et Lettres Patentes | sur iceluy, | Données à Fontainebleau le 7. Septembre 1728. | Registrées en Parlement. | Portant Reglement pour les Marchandises que les Negocians | du Royaume pourront tirer de Hollande &

du Nord | pour le commerce de Guinée. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1728. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 17

[The "lettres patentes" are not included in this tract.]

204. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | En interpretation de celuy du 25. May dernier, qui regle les contesta- | tions d'entre l'Amirauté de France & les Fermiers generaux, | sur la Competence des matieres de contrebande. | Du 14. Septembre 1728. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1728. pp. 4. AD. XI. 50. f. 19

205. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui accorde aux Negocians des Sables d'Olonne, pour leur | Commerce de l'Isle Royale, les mêmes Privileges qui sont | accordez aux autres Negocians du Royaume pour le Com- | merce des Isles & Colonies Françoises. | Du 14. Decembre 1728. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1729. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 60

206. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui permet aux Negocians de la Ville de Vannes, | de faire le Commerce des Isles & Colonies | Françoises. | Du 21. Decembre 1728. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXIX. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 61

1729–1731

207. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Concernant le Commerce de Guinée. | Du 13 Septembre 1729. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXIX. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 62

208. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Portant Reglement pour le Commerce des Cotons qui s'envoyent | des Isles Françoises de l'Amerique dans les Ports de | France. | Du 20. Decembre 1729. [incomplete, only pages 1 & 2.] AD. VII. 2A. f. 63

209. Recueil | des Edits, | Declarations, | Ordonnances, | Arrests et Reglemens, | Rendus depuis 1629. jusqu'à present. | Concernant | la Ferme Generale du Tabac, [ARMS.] A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Saugrain et Pierre Prault, Imprimeur | des Fermes & Droits du Roy, Quay de Gevres au Paradis. | M. DCCXXX. | Avec Privilege du Roi. [Title only.] AD. XI. 48. f. —

210. Table | des Edits, Declarations, | Lettres Patentes, | Ordonnances, | Arrests et Reglemens, | concernant | la Ferme du Tabac | Du 17. Novembre 1629 [to 1730]. pp. 184. AD. XI. 50. f. 53

211. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pendant un an la faculté accordée aux Negocians | des Ports & Villes Maritimes du Royaume, d'envoyer | leurs Vaisseaux directement en Irlande, pour y acheter | des bœufs salez, & les transporter ensuite aux Isles & | Colonies Françoises. | Du 7. Fevrier 1730. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXX. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 64

212. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Pour l'establissement d'une Compagnie | de Cadets au Port de Rochefort. | Du 27. May 1730. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXX pp. 4. ["les Troupes d'Infanterie

qu'Elle entretient aux Colonies, & particulierement dans celles des Isles de l'Amerique meridionale."] AD. VII. 3. f. 53

213. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pendant trois ans, à compter du 23. Octobre | prochain, la permission cy-devant accordée aux Negocians | François qui font le Commerce des Isles & Colonies | Françoises de l'Amerique, de faire venir des Pays | estrangers, des Lard, Beurres, Suifs, Chandelles | & Saumons salez, sans payer aucuns Droits. | Du 22. Aoust 1730. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXX. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2^A. f. 65

214. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les deniers provenans du produit du | Droit d'un pour cent sur les Marchandises des Isles | & Colonies françoises de l'Amerique, depuis le premier | Janvier 1731. seront remis entre les mains du Sieur de | Barillon, chargé par Arrest du Conseil du 6. May 1731. | de la Recette generale dudit Droit, au lieu du feu Sieur | le Cordier. | Du 22 May 1731. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXI. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2^A. f. 66

215. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui dispense les Vaisseaux Marchands qui seront armez & | destinez pour la Colonie de la Loüisiane, d'y porter des | Engagez & Fusils, & ce pendant six années, à compter | du jour & date de la presente Ordonnance. | Du 4. Aoust 1731. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXI. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2^A. f. 67

216. Capitulation du Regiment Suisse de Karrer, | renouvellée par nous Jean Frederic Phelypeaux Comte de | Maurepas, Ministre & Secretaire d'Estat ayant le dépar- | tement de la Marine, Commandeur des ordres du Roy, pour | & au nom de Sa Majesté; lequel renouvellement de Capitu- | lation a esté accepté par le Sieur Chevalier Karrer Colonel | dudit Regiment. | A Versailles le 25. Septembre 1731. pp. 10.
Marine, A^2. 26. f. 323

217. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Pour l'entretenient du Regiment Suisse de | Karrer au service de la Marine. A Marly le 9. Octobre 1731. pp. 10.
Marine, A^2. 26. f. 337

1733–1734

218. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pendant une année seulement, la | permission accordée aux Negocians des ports & | villes maritimes du Royaume, d'envoyer leurs | vaisseaux directement en Irlande, pour y acheter | des bœufs salez, & les transporter ensuite aux | isles & colonies Françoises de l'Amerique. | Du 31 Mars 1733. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXIII. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 113

219. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui prescrit les formalitez à observer par les Rafineurs | de Bordeaux, la Rochelle, Roüen & Dieppe, pour | joüir de la restitution des droits d'entrée sur les sucres | par eux rafinez, provenant des sucres bruts des Isles | & Colonies françoises de l'Amerique, & qu'ils envoye- | ront à l'Estranger tant par mer que par terre. | Du 17. Novembre 1733. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXIII. AD. XI. 48. f. 254

220. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que pendant dix années, à commencer du pre- | mier Janvier 1734. les moruës, tant

vertes que seches, | & les huiles qui proviendront de la pesche des sujets de | Sa Majesté à l'isle Royale, appellée cy-devant l'isle du | Cap-Breton, demeureront deschargées dans tous les ports | du Royaume, tant de l'Ocean que de la Mediterranée | & à Ingrande, de tous les droits d'entrée des cinq grosses | Fermes. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXIII. pp. 4. AD. XI. 41. f. 73

221. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui casse deux Sentences renduës par les Maire & Echevins du Havre, les | 9. Juin & 4. Juillet 1733. en consequence, descharge le Sieur le Vaillant | negociant de ladite Ville, des sommes de douze cens quarante-trois livres | quatre sols, & de deux cent quatre-vingt-quinze livres six sols trois | deniers, ausquelles il a esté condamné par lesdites Sentences, pour les droits d'octrois de la Ville du Havre, sur des Vins & eaux-de-vie venant | de Bordeaux & de la Rochelle, destinez à estre transportez en Canada.

Et qui ordonne que tous les Armateurs ou Negocians, qui armeront dans | la Ville du Havre, des Vaisseaux destinez pour les Isles Francoises de | l'Amerique, joüiront de l'exemption des droits d'octrois de ladite | Ville, sur toutes les marchandises & denrées employées à leur commerce, | ou à l'approvisionnement & avictuaillement de leur vaisseaux; à la charge | par eux d'en faire leur declaration à l'entrée de la Ville du Havre, | & par lesdites marchandises & denrées seront mises dans l'entrepost | ordonné par les Lettres patentes du mois d'Avril 1717. jusqu'au jour | de leur embarquement. Du 25. Mai 1734. pp. 8. Marine, A². 27. f. 33

222. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui regle la forme des Certificats de la Traitte des | Negres aux Isles Françoises de l'Amerique. | Du 6 Juillet 1734. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXIV. pp. 6[2]. AD. VII. 3. f. 19

223. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pendant une année seulement, la | permission accordée aux Negociants des | Ports & Villes maritime du Royaume, | d'envoyer leurs Vaisseaux directement en | Irlande, pour y acheter des bœufs & chairs | salées, & les transporter ensuite aux Isles & | Colonies Françoises. | Du 29. Aoust 1734. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXIV. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 114

1735–1737

224. Le Code Noir | ou | Edit du Roy, | servant de Reglement | Pour le Gouvernement & l'Administration de Justice & la | Police des Isles Françoises de l'Amerique, & pour la | Discipline & le Commerce des Negres & Esclaves | dans ledit Pays. | Donné à Versailles au mois de Mars 1685. | Avec | l'Edit du mois d'Aoust 1685. portant établissement d'un | Conseil Souverain & de quatre Sieges Royaux dans | la Coste de l'Isle de S. Domingue. | A Paris, au Palais, | Chez Claude Girard, dans la Grand'Salle, | vis-à-vis la Grand'Chambre: Au Nom de Jesus. | M. DCC. XXXV. pp. 14. AD. VII. 3. f. 4

225. Règlement Des Droits & Salaires des Officiers du Siege d'Amirauté à l'Isle-Royale. Du 24. May 1735. Paris: Imp. Royale. 1735. pp. 11[1]. NYPL

226. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pendant une année seulement, la permission | accordée aux Negocians des ports & villes maritimes du | Royaume, d'envoyer leurs vaisseaux directement en Irlande, | pour y acheter des bœufs & chairs salées, & les transporter | ensuite aux Isles & Colonies Françoises. | Du 6. Septembre 1735. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXV. pp. 4.
AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 69

227. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui modere à vingt-cinq sols le droit local de cinquante | sols par cent pesant, sur les sucres bruts venant des | Isles Françoises de l'Amerique, & entrant à Roüen. | Du 24 Avril 1736. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXVI. pp. 7[1]. AD. XI. 48. f. 256

228. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui annulle le Reglement du 25. Juillet 1708. Du 5. Juin 1736. pp. 2. ["la maladie de Siam qui affligeoit en ce temps les Isles de l'Amerique."] Marine, A^{2}. 27. f. 163

229. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Concernant les Esclaves des Isles Françoises | de l'Amerique. | Du 15. Juin 1736. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXVI. AD. VII. 3. f. 21

230. Ordonnance du Roy. Au sujet des Deserteurs des troupes des isles françoises de l'Amerique. Du 11. Fevrier 1737. Paris: l'Imp. Royale, 1737. pp. 4. NYPL

231. Declaration | du Roy, | Qui permet aux Armateurs & Negocians qui font | commerce dans les Isles, de charger à fret pour Cadix, | des Marchandises du Royaume, sur des vaisseaux qui | partiront à vuide pour aller aux iles de l'Amerique | y prendre des marchandises de retour. | Donnée à Fontainebleau le 30. Septembre 1737. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1737. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 70

232. Declaration | du Roy, | Qui ordonne l'Enregistrement au Greffe de l'Amirauté | de Bayonne, de tous Contrats à la Grosse Avanture faits | avec les Négocians de ladite Ville & des autres Lieux | du Pays de Labour. | Donneé à Fontainebleau le 13. Novembre 1737. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez Pierre Prault, Imprimeur des Fermes | du Roi, Quay de Gesvres, au Paradis, 1739. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 103

1738–1741

233. Arrest du Conseil d'Estat du Roy, Portant que l'Ordonnance du 23. Decembre 1721. concernant les Matelots qui desertent dans les Colonies, sera executée; Et casse une Sentence des Officiers de l'Amirauté de Dunkerque, renduë en contravention de ladite Ordonnance. Du 13. May 1738. Paris: l'Imp. Royale, 1738. pp. 4. NYPL

234. Lettres Patentes | sur Arrest, | Concernant l'Entrepôt tant des Marchan- | dises destinées pour les Isles & Colonies | Françoises, que de celles qui en viennent. | Registrées en la Cour des Aydes, le dix-sept Juin | mil sept cent trente-huit. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve Delatour, 1738. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 71

235. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui proroge pour six années, à compter du | 4. Aoust 1737. l'exemption accordée aux | navires marchands destinez

pour la Loüi- | siane, d'y porter des engagez & fusils. | Du Juillet 173.8 COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXXXVIII. pp. 3[1] .
AD. VII. 2A. f. 72

236. Declaration | du Roy, | Concernant les Negres Esclaves des Colonies. | Donnée à Versailles, le 15. Decembre 1738. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1740. pp. 7[8]. AD. VII. 3. f. 23

237. Declaration | du Roy, | En interprétation de l'Edit du mois d'Octobre | 1716. concernant les Esclaves Négres des | Colonies de present en France, ou qui y seront | enmenez. | Du 15. Décembre 1738. COLOPHON: A Rouen, Chez Jean-B. Besongne, Imprimeur | ordinaire du Roy, au coin vis-a-vis la Fontaine S. Lo, | à l'Imprimerie du Louvre. 1739. pp. 8.
AD. VII. 3. f. 22

238. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui permet pendant un an, à compter de la date du present | arrest, aux Negocians qui font le commerce des Isles & | Colonies françoises de l'Amerique, de faire venir de Danne- | marck dans les ports désignez par les lettres patentes de | 1717. &c. les chairs salées, beurres & suifs, qu'ils destine- | ront pour lesdites Isles & Colonies, sans payer aucuns droits | d'entrée. | Du 7. Fevrier 1741. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXLI. pp. 3[1].
AD. VII. 2A. f. 73

239. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Qui permet aux Négocians & Armateurs des Ports | authorisez à faire le Commerce des Colonies de l'A- | mérique, d'armer & équiper leur vaisseaux pour la | Côte de Guinée, en se conformant aux arrêts & | reglemens concernant le commerce de ladite Côte. | Du 30. Septembre 1741. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1741. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 192

240. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pour dix années l'exemption de tous droits | d'Entrée, accordée par celuy du 30. Septembre | 1732. sur les denrées & marchandises venant | de la Louisiane. | Du 31. October 1741. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1741. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 75

1742–1743

241. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Concernant l'exemption accordée aux marchandise prove- | nant de la Traitte des Négres aux Isles Françoises de | l'Amérique. | Du 31 Mars 1742. COLOPHON: A Paris. Chez Prault, Quai de Gêvres. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 24

242. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui défend aux Capitaines des Navires désarmé aux Isles de | l'Amérique, de payer, dans lesdites Isles, la solde dûë à leurs | Equipages. Leur enjoint d'en faire les décomptes en presence | des Officiers chargés du détail des Classes; & régle les formalités | à observer à ce sujet. Du 19. Juillet 1742. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez P. Prault, Imprimeur des Fermes & Droits | du Roy, Quay de Gesvres, au Paradis. 1742. pp. 4. Marine, A2. 27. f. 485

243. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Qui ordonne l'exécution des lettres patentes du mois d'avril | 1717. portant réglement pour le commerce des Isles: Casse | trois sentences de la jurisdiction des Traittes du Havre,

des | 25. octobre, 14. & 21. novembre 1741. Et condamne les | sieurs Vaustable, le Boüis & de la Haye, David Laisné & | Jean Feray, à payer les droits d'entrée des marchandises | arrivées de Marseille & Dunkerque, au Havre, & par eux | déclarées à la destination de l'entrepôt pour les isles & colo- | nies françoises, conformément à l'article X. des lettres pa- | tentes de 1717. | Du 4. Septembre 1742. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXLII. pp. 6. AD. XI. 9. f. 117

244. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Qui fixe à quatre années l'entrepôt des Marchandises | propres pour le Commerce de Guinée. | Du 2. Octobre 1742. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale 1742. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 77

245. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pour trois années, à compter du premier Janvier | 1743. la perception du droit d'un demi pour cent, ordonné | par la déclaration du 10. novembre 1727. être levé sur les | Marchandises venant des Isles françoises de l'Amerique. | Du 11. Décembre 1742. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1742. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 78

246. Déclaration | du Roi, | Qui régle la maniere d'élire des Tuteurs & Curateurs | aux Mineurs qui ont des biens situés en France, & | d'autres situés dans les Colonies. | Donnée a Versailles le premier Février 1743. COLOPHON: A Paris. De l'Imprimerie de Prault, Imprimeur des | Fermes du Roy, Quay de Gêvres. 1747. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 79

247. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que pendant dix années, à commencer du premier | Janvier 1744. les Morues, tant vertes que sèches, & les Huiles | qui proviendront de la pêche des Sujets de Sa Majesté à l'Isle- | royale, appellée ci-devant l'Isle du Cap-breton, demeureront | déchargées dans tous les ports du Royeaume, tant de l'Océan que de la Méditerranée, & à Ingrande, de tous les droits d'entrée | des cinq grosses fermes. | Du 26. Mars 1743. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1743. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 41. f. 85

248. Ordonnance | du Roy, | portant Réglement sur la Réception des Capitaines, | Maîtres & Patrons dans les Colonies Françoises | de l'Amérique. | Du treize Juin 1743. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez Pierre Prault, Imprimeur des Fermes | & Droits du Roy, Quay de Gêvres au Paradis. 1743. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 80

249. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les marchandises du crû des Isles françoises de | l'Amérique, qui seront destinées pour être transportées à l'Isle- | royale, seront déchargées jusqu'au premier Janvier 1747. du | droit de poids d'un pour cent; Et que celles du crû desdites | Isles, destinées tant pour ladite Isle-royale que pour le Canada, | seront dechargées pendant ledit tems, du droit de trois pour cent | du Domaine d'Occident, ensemble du droit de quarante sols par | quintal sur les sucres qui y seront envoyez desdites Isles. | Du 24. Juin 1743. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1743. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 81

250. Declaration | du Roy, | Concernant les Concessions de Terres dans les Colonies | Françoises de l'Amérique. | Donnée à Versailles le 17 Juillet 1743. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1744. pp. 6.
AD. VII. 2A. f. 82

251. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne que les Négocians & Armateurs de la ville de Marseille, | seront tenus de faire conduire au Bureau du Domaine d'Occident, | actuellement établi à la rive neuve, toutes les marchandises | arrivant des Isles françoises de l'Amerique, de même que celles | qu'ils embarqueront pour lesdites isles, pour y être visitées & les | droits acquittez. | Du 29 Octobre 1743. Colophon: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale 1744. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 83

1744–1745

252. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Portant règlement sur le commerce des Colonies | françoises de l'Amérique. | Du premier Mars 1744. Colophon: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1744. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 84

253. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Portant déclaration de guerre contre | le Roy d'Angleterre. | Du 15. Mars 1744. pp. 4. Marine, A2. 28. f. 55

254. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Qui suspend pendant la guerre l'exécution de l'article II. | des lettres patentes du mois d'avril 1717. concernant | le commerce des colonies françoises de l'Amérique. | Du 20. Avril 1744. Colophon: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXLIV. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 85

255. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Portant défenses des Jeux de hazard aux Colonies. | Du 4. Novembre 1744. Colophon: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXLIV. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 86

256. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Portant prorogation pendant la presente guerre, de l'entrepôt des | marchandises & denrées destinées pour le commerce des Isles | & Colonies françoises. | Du 4 Mai 1745. Colophon: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1745. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 87

257. Lettres Patentes | sur Arrest, | Pour favoriser le Commerce des Isles. | Données à Versailles le quatriéme jour du mois de May 1745. Colophon: De l'Imprimerie de la Veuve Delatour. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2A. f. 88

258. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Concernant les Convois pour les Isles françoises | de l'Amérique. | Du 14 Mai 1745. Colophon: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1745. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 88

259. Règlement sur la Police à observer à l'égard des Matelots qui désertent aux Isles de l'Amerique, des Navires armés dans les Ports du Royaume. Du Camp de Tournay le 19 May 1745. A Paris: Chez P. Prault. 1745. pp. 8. NYPL

260. Declaration | du Roy, | Concernant les dettes de cargaison des navires des Ports | du Royaume aux Colonies françoises de l'Amérique. | Donnée au Camp sous Tournay, le 12 Juin 1745. Colophon: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1745. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 90

261. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy | Qui, en interprétant celui du 20 avril 1744, déclare n'avoir entendu | permettre pendant la présente guerre, le retour des navires des Isles & | Colonies françoises, qui dans les différens ports du royaume où le | commerce des Isles est permis; sans

que les négocians puissent faire | revenir leurs navires dans d'autres ports, si ce n'est en cas de relâche | forcé, naufrage ou autre cas imprévû, à peine de dix mille livres | d'amende, conformément à l'article II des lettres patentes du mois | d'avril 1717. | Du 19 Juin 1745. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCC. XLV. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 9. f. 195

262. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pour trois années, à compter du premier janvier | 1746, la perception du droit d'un demi pour cent, ordonné | par la déclaration du 10 novembre 1727 être levé sur les | marchandises venant des Isles françoises de l'Amerique. | Du 30 Novembre 1745. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXLVI. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 92

1746–1749

263. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui règle le payement des équipages des navires expédiez | pour les isles de l'Amérique sous l'escorte des vaisseaux | de Sa Majesté, pendant le tems qu'ils auront été retenus | dans les Rades pour attendre le départ des convois. | Du 21 Avril 1746. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1746. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 93

264. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui règle le payement des équipages des navires expédiez | pour les Isles de l'Amérique sous l'escorte des Vaisseaux | de Sa Majesté, pendant le tems qu'ils auront été retenus | dans les Rades pour attendre le départ des convois. | Du 21 Avril 1746. pp. 3[1]. Marine, A2. 28. f. 231

265. Ordonnance du Roy, Pour faire exécuter à l'égard de tous les navires armez dans les différens ports du Royaume pour faire les voyages de l'Amérique sous l'escorte des vaisseaux de Sa Majesté, le Règlement . . . concernant le payement des équipages des navires expédiez à Nantes. . . . Du 18 Mai 1746. A Paris: de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1746. pp. 3[1]. NYPL

266. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Concernant les Policies d'assurance passées avant la | déclaration de la présente guerre. | Du 24 Septembre 1746. pp. 3[1]. Marine, A2. 28. f. 291

267. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Portant réglement sur les Charte-parties d'affretement passées | avant la signatures des préliminaires de la paix, pour les | navires expédiez pour les Colonies françoises de l'Amérique. | Du 15 Octobre 1748. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1748. pp. 2. AD. VII. 3. f. 103a

268. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Portant que les Équipages des navires revenus des Isles de l'Amé- | rique sous l'escorte des Vaisseaux de Sa Majesté, seront payez de | leurs salaires en entier pendant le séjour que lesdits navires auront | faits dans lesdites Isles, jusqu'à concurrence du terme de six mois; | & seulement de la moitié pour tout le temps excédant ledit terme. | Du 17 Octobre 1748. pp. 3[1]. Marine, A2. 28. f. 405

269. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Qui renouvelle pour six années l'exemption accordée aux | Navires marchands destinez pour la Louisianne, d'y | porter des engagés & des fusils. | Du 25 Novembre 1748. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1748. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 97

270. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Qui ordonne l'exécution celui du 27 septembre 1720; &, | en conséquence, que les vaisseaux des négocians, munis de | permissions de la Compagnie des Indes pour le commerce | de Guinée, jouiront des mêmes priviléges & exemptions dont | elle jouit. | Du 3 Décembre 1748. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXLIX. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 25

271. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | En interpretation de celui du 12 juillet 1748, | concernant les Assurances. | Du 20 Janvier 1749. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXLIX. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 9. f. 119

272. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Qui, en révoquant l'arrêt du Conseil du 4 mai 1745, ordonne | que, conformément à celui du 3 mai 1723, les marchan- | dises destinées pour les Isles & Colonies françoises, ne | jouiront plus à l'avenir que d'une armée d'entrepôt. | Du 26 Mars 1749. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCXLIX. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 98

273. Edit du Roy, | Portant suppression des deux offices de Trésoriers généraux des | Galères, & création de deux offices de Trésoriers généraux | des Colonies françoises de l'Amérique. | Donné à Fontainebleau au mois de Novembre 1749. pp. 6 (should be 7) [1]. Marine, A^{2}. 28. f. 453

1750–1755

274. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pour dix ans les exemptions accordées au com- | merce qui se fait entre le Canada, l'Isle-royale & les | Isles du Vent de l'Amérique. | Du 24 Février 1750. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1750. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 99

275. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Qui fixe le prix des Tabacs du crû de la Louisiane à trente livres | le quintal, . . . | Du 13 Octobre 1750. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1750. pp. 4. AD. XI. 51. f. 99

276. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Concernant la compagnie des Cadets de Rochefort. | Du 16 Octobre 1750. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLII. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 54

277. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Qui continue la perception du Droit de vingt pour cent, à toutes les entrées du | royaume, sur les marchandises du Levant, . . .

Exempte du Droit de trois pour cent du Domaine d'Occident, les Cotons venant | des Colonies françoises de l'Amérique, pour la consommation du royaume; & | les assujétit aux mêmes droits de sortie qu'ils payoient avant l'arrêt du 12 | novembre 1749: |

Ordonne que le Droit de trois pour cent du Domaine d'Occident, continuera d'être | perçû sur le Coton des Colonies françoises, qui passera à l'étranger: Et que | le Droit de demi pour cent, établi par la declaration du 10 novembre 1727, | continuera aussi d'être perçû sur le Coton desdites Colonies, de la même manière | qu'il se perçoit sur les autres marchandises

qui en viennent. | Du 22 Décembre 1750. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1751. pp. 19[1]. Marine, A². 28. f. 493

278. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roy, | Qui proroge pour trois années, à compter du premier janvier | 1752, la perception du droit d'un demi pour cent, ordonné | par la déclaration du 10 novembre 1727, être levé sur les | marchandises venant des isles françoises de l'Amérique. | Du 13 Novembre 1751. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1751. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 100

279. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Qui proroge pour dix ans l'exemption des droits d'entrée | & de sortie sur les denrées & marchandises que les | Négocians françois feront transporter dans les colonies de | la Louisiane, & l'exemption, pendant le même temps, | de tous droits d'entrée sur les marchandises & denrées | du crû & du commerce de ladite Colonie. | Du 30 Novembre 1751. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLI. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 101

280. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour entretenir le régiment Suisse de Hallwyl | au service de la Marine. | Du premier Septembre 1752. pp. 2. Marine, A². 28. f. 547

281. Règlement Pour la police & discipline des équipages des Navires expédiés pour les Colonies de l'Amérique. Du 22. Juin 1753. A Paris: de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1753. pp. 11[1]. NYPL

282. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que pendant dix années, à commencer du | premier janvier 1754, les morues, tant vertes que sèches, | & les huiles qui proviendront de la pêche des sujets de | Sa Majesté à l'Isle Royale, appellée ci-devant l'isle du | Cap-Breton, demeureront déchargées dans tous les ports | du royaume, tant de l'Océan que de la Méditerranée | & à Ingrande, de tous les droits d'entrée des cinque | grosses fermes. | Du 2 Avril 1754. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLIV. pp. 4. AD. XI. 41. f. 95

283. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que la perception du droit de demi pour cent sur | les marchandises venant des isles & colonies Françoises de | l'Amérique, établie par la déclaration du 10 novembre 1727. | sera continuée pendant trois années. | Du 15 Octobre 1754. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLIV. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 102

1756–1759

284. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roi, | Qui permet aux Maire, Jurats & habitans de la ville | de Libourne, de faire directement par le port de ladite | ville, le commerce des Isles & Colonies françoises de | l'Amérique. | Du 8 Juin 1756. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLVI. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 103

285. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui permet aux Négocians & habitans de la Ville de Cherbourg, | de faire directement par le port de ladite ville, le commerce | des Isles & Colonies françoises de l'Amérique. | Du 8 Juin 1756. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLVI. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 9. f. 204

286. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roi, | Qui permet aux Négocians de la ville de Caen, de faire | directement par le port de ladite ville, le commerce | des iles & colonies françoises de l'Amérique. | Du 21 Septembre 1756. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1756. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 104

287. Lettres Patentes | du Roi, | en Forme d'E'dit, | Pour l'administration de la Justice dans l'isle | de Minorque. | Données à Versailles au mois de Mai 1757. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLVII. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 105

288. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui fixe à sept livres dix sols du cent pesant, les droits sur les | Sucres bruts, provenant des Colonies angloises, qui seront pris | par les Armateurs françois, comme ils se perçoivent sur les | cassonades & masconades du Bresil: . . . | Du 16 Mai 1758. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1758. pp. 2. AD. XI. 48. f. 259

289. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant le payement du fret des Marchandises apportées | de Saint-Domingue sur des vaisseaux de Sa Majesté. | Du 20 Décembre 1758. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1758. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 106

290. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui modère les droits sur les Sucres bruts venant | de l'Étranger. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1759. pp. 2. AD. XI. 48. f. 260

291. Réglement | Pour la police & discipline des équipages des Navires | marchands, expediés pour les Colonies françoises de | l'Amérique, & sur ce qui doit être observé pour les | remplacemens des équipages, tant des Vaisseau de | Sa Majesté, que des Navires marchands. | Du 11 Juillet 1759. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1759. pp. 11[1, printed.] AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 107

292. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Qui défend aux Gouverneur-lieutenant général, | Intendant & Gouverneurs particuliers des Isles | sous le vent de l'Amérique, de percevoir le droit | de deux pour cent sur les Nègres; Et réunit aux | caisses de la Colonie le produit des fermes des | Cafés, Boucheries & Cabarets. | Du 23 Juillet 1759. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1759. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 26

293. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat | du Roy, | Portant établissement de Chambres mi-parties | d'Agriculture & de Commerce aux Isles sous le | vent, avec faculté d'avoir un Député à Paris à la | suite du Conseil. | Du vingt-trois Juillet 1759. [ARMS.] .A Paris, | Chez Pierre Prault, Quai de Gêvres, au Paradis. | M. DCC. LIX. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 108

294. Ordonnance | du Roy, | Portant règlement pour les appointemens du Gouverneur- | lieutenant général, Intendant, Gouverneurs particuliers; | Lieutenans-de-Roi & autres Officiers de l'État-major, | Commissaires & Écrivains de la Marine, servant aux | Isles sous le vent; Et qui fixe leur nombre, leur | grade & leur résidence. | Du 23 Juillet 1759. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1759. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2^{A}. f. 109

295. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Concernant les Mariages & Acquisitions que les | Gouverneurs généraux & Intendans, ainsi que | les Commissaires & Écrivains de la marine, | servant aux Isles sous le vent, pourroient y |

contracter à l'avenir. | Du 23 Juillet 1759. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1759. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 110

296. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant le payement des Lettres de change tirées des Colonies françoises de l'Amérique, sur les Trésoriers généraux | desdites Colonies. | Du 15 Octobre 1759. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1759. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 111

297. Déclaration | du Roi, | En interprétation de celles des 17 juillet 1743 & 1er fevrier | 1747; & qui attribue aux Juges ordinaires, & par appel | aux Conseils supérieurs des Isles du Vent, la connoissance | de toutes les contestations & procès qui naîtront pour raison | des concessions de terres, faites & à faire par le Gouverneur- | lieutenant-général & Intendant desdites Isles. | Donnée à Marli le 10 Décembre 1759. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1776. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 112

1760–1762

298. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roi, | Qui fixe à trois mois, pour tout délai, le payement du fret des | marchandises & denrées des Colonies, qui seront à l'avenir | apportées en France par les Vaisseaux de Sa Majesté. | Du 19 Avril 1760. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1760. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 206

299. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui attribue aux Commissaires y nommés, la connoissance | de toutes les affaires contentieuses provenant des Colonies, | & qui sont de nature à être portées au Conseil de | Sa Majesté. | Du 8 Février 1761. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1761. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 114

300. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Du 26 Mars 1761. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXI. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 116

301. Arrest | du Conseil d'Estat | du Roy, | Sur la Réformation de la Justice dans les Colonies. | Du 26 Mar 1761. COLOPHON: A Paris. Chez Prault, Imprimeur, Quai de Gêvres, | au Paradis. 1764. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 117

302. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que les Cotons filés venant de l'Étranger, | même des Isles & Colonies françoises de l'Amérique, | payeront vingt livres par quintal de droits d'entrée | dans le Royaume. | Du 12 Mai 1761. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1761. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 118

303. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui surseoit à l'examen & vérification des dettes de la | Marine & des Colonies, autres que du Canada. | Du 28 Novembre 1761. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale 1761. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 119

304. Arrest | du Conseil d'État du Roi, | Concernant les Lettres de change des Colonies, autres | que du Canada. | Du 12 Décembre 1761. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1761. pp. 3[1 printed]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 120

305. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Portant établissement d'une Commission pour la | Législation des Colonies Françoises. | Du 19 Dé-

cembre 1761. COLOPHON: A Paris, Chez Prault, Quai de Gêvres, | au Paradis. 1764. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 121

306. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que les Sucres bruts venant des Colonies françoises, | seront exempts, pendant la durée de la guerre, des droits | portés par les Lettres patentes de 1717, & des droits locaux | dûs en Bretagne:... COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1762. pp. 2. AD. XI. 48. f. 261

307. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant qu'il ne sera plus accordé, à compter | du 1er Mars 1762, de relief aux Officiers | des Colonies qui passeront en France. | Du 28 Février 1762. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1762. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 122

308. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant injonction aux Officiers des Troupes | servant ci-devant en Canada, de se retirer | dans deux mois dans la province de Touraine, | pour y jouir du traitement qui leur a été réglé | par Sa Majesté. | Du 24 Mars 1762. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1762. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 123

309. De par le Roi, | S.A.S. Monseigneur | le Duc de Penthievre, | Amiral de France; | et Nosseigneurs | de l'Amirauté de France, | Ordonnance, | Portant injonction à toutes Personnes | demeurantes dans l'étendue de l'Amirauté, ou des | Amirautés particulières de son Ressort, qui ont à | leur service des Negres ou Mulâtres de l'un ou de | l'autre sexe, d'en faire leur déclaration, en per- | sonne ou par Procureur, aux Greffes de l'Amirauté | de France, ou aux Greffes des Amirautés parti- | culières de son Ressort, sous telles peines qu'il | appartiendra. | Des 31 Mars & 3 Avril 1762. COLOPHON: De l'Imp. de D'Houry, Imp.-Lib. de l'Amirauté de France. 1762. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 27

310. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Du 16 Avril 1762. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXII. pp. 2. [On the arrest of 19 Decembre, 1761.] AD. VII. 2A. f. 124

311. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui fixe les bornes du pouvoir militaire dans les Colonies, | par rapport à la Justice. | Du 21 Mai 1762. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1762. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 126

312. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que le montont des Lettres de Change tirées | de Cayenne, sur les Trésoriers généraux des Colonies en | 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758 & 1759, & qui ont | été converties en Reconnoissances dedits Trésoriers, sera | acquitté dans le courant de l'année 1763. | Du 31 Décembre 1762. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXIII. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 128

1763–1765

313. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour réformer les six piquets d'Infanterie | employés à Saint-Domingue. | Du 31 Janvier 1763. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1763. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 54a

314. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Pour le payement des Lettres de Change tirées des Colonies, sur | les Trésoriers généraux de la Marine, & sur le Munitionnaire | général des vivres de la Marine. | Du

2 Avril 1763. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXIII. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 129

315. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui admet le port de Fécamp au nombre de ceux par lesquels | il est permis de faire directement le commerce des Isles | & Colonies françoises de l'Amérique. | Du 11 Avril 1763. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXIII. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 130

316. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui fixe des Époques pour le Payement des | dettes des Colonies, contractées en France. | Du 15 Juillet 1763. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXIII. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 131

317. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que les Lettres de change tirées de l'Isle- | royale, la Louisiane, la Martinique & St Domingue, | sur les exercises 1755, 1756, 1757 & 1758, | seront acquittées en 1764, aux époques qui y sont | fixées. | Du 15 Juillet 1763. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1763. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 132

318. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Concernant les Jeunes Gens de mauvaise conduite, | que Sa Majesté permet d'envoyer à l'Isle | de la Desirade. | Du 15 Juillet 1763. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez Prault, Quai de Gêvres, au Paradis. 1764. pp. 6. AD. VII. 2A. f. 133

319. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui admet le port de Grandville au nombre de ceux par | lesquels il est permis de faire directement le commerce des | Isles & Colonies françoises de l'Amérique. | Du 29 Décembre 1763. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXIV. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 134

320. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui admet le Port des Sables-d'Olonne au nombre de | ceux par lesquels il est permis de faire directement | le commerce des Isles & Colonies françoises de | l'Amérique. | Du 17 Decembre 1764. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. M. DCCLXV. pp. 3[1]. AD. XI. 9. f. 207

321. Observations | des Syndics | de la Chambre | de Commerce | de Normandie, | Servant de Réponse à un Memoire intitulé: Sur | l'étendue & les bornes des Lois prohibitives du Com- | merce étranger dans nos Colonies. COLOPHON: A Rouen. Chez Laurent Dumesnil, rue de l'Ecureuil, Imprimeur de | la Jurisdiction Consulaire, 1765. pp. 22. AD. XI. 9. f. 123

322. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne l'échange des Reconnoissances délivrées en exécution | de celui de 12 Décembre 1761, par les Trésoriers des | Colonies, pour les Lettres de change de l'Exercice 1759. | Du 9 Février 1765. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1765. pp. 3[1 printed.] AD. VII. 2A. f. 136

323. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne le payement des Reconnoissances données par les | Trésoriers des Colonies, en échange des Lettres de change | tirées de la Louisiane, Saint-Domingue, l'Isle-Royale | & la Martinique, de l'Exercice 1758. | Du 9 Février 1765. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1765. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 137

324. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant le payement des Reconnoissances délivrées par | les Trésoriers des Colonies, en exécution

de l'arrêt du | 15 Juillet 1763. | Du 29 Mars 1765. COLOPHON: A Paris de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1765. pp. 3[1 printed.] AD. VII. 2A. f. 139

325. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne le payement des Reconnoissances audessous | de Mille livres, données par les Trésoriers des Colonies, | en exécution de l'Arrêt du 12 décembre 1761, en | échange des Lettres de change de l'exercice 1759. | Du 28 Avril 1765. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1765. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 140

326. Arrest | du Conseil d'État du Roi, | Concernant les Dettes des Colonies en France, des années 1760, | 1761, 1762, 1763 & 1764. | Du 29 Août 1765. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1765. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 141

327. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui fixe le délai dans lequel les Créanciers des Colonies, | pour dépenses antérieures au 1er Janvier 1760, seront | tenus de satisfaire aux dispositions de celui du 15 | Juillet 1763. | Du 2 Octobre 1765. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. M. DCCLXV. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 142

1766–1767

328. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que les Lettres de change tirées de la Martinique | en 1763, & substituées à celles de 1759, seront converties | en Reconnoissances du sieur Vaudesir, Trésorier général | des Colonies. | Du 24 Mar 1766. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1766. pp. 3[1 printed.] AD. VII. 2A. f. 143

329. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant création d'une Légion pour l'île | de Saint-Domingue. | Du 1er Avril 1766. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1766. pp. 16. AD. VII. 2A. f. 144

330. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant le payement des Lettres de change | de la Louisiane, des exercices 1763, 1764 | & 1765; & celles de Cayenne de 1764 | & 1765. | Du 4 Mai 1766. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1766. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 145

331. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que les Reconnoissances délivrées par le Trésorier | général des Colonies, en exécution de l'arrêt du 24 mars | 1766, seront rapportées au sieur de Gagny, qui en délivrera | de nouvelles, garnies de Coupons d'intérêts à Cinq pour cent. | Du 9 Juin 1766. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1766. pp. 3[1 printed.] AD. VII. 2A. f. 146

332. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui proroge jusqu'au 1er Janvier 1767, le délai fixé | au 1er Avril 1766, par celui du 2 Octobre 1765, | pour la représentation des titres des Créanciers des | Colonies, pour dépenses antérieures au 1er Janvier | 1760. | Du 20 Septembre 1766. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCL XVI. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 147

333. Sentence | de Nosseigneurs | de l'Amirauté de France, | Portant homologation du Réglement de l'Association | de Commerce Maritime. | Du 3 Avril 1767. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de Lottin l'Aîné. pp. 20[2] and 1 folding sheet. AD. XI. 9. f. 122

334. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne l'établissement

de deux Entrepôts, l'un au port du | Carénage, dans l'île de Sainte-Lucie; & l'autre au môle | Saint-Nicolas, dans l'île de Saint-Domingue: Et qui | permet aux Étrangers d'y introduire & d'en exporter certaines | denrées & marchandises. | Du 29 Juillet 1767. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1767. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2A. f. 148

335. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant le commerce des Noirs à la côte d'Afrique. | Du 31 Juillet 1767. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1767. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 28

336. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi. | Concernant le commerce des Noirs à la côte d'Afrique. | Du 31. Juillet 1767. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie de Prault, Quai de Gévres, | au Paradis. 1767. pp. 4. AD. XI. 9. f. 210

337. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui accorde des Encouragemens à ceux des Négocians | qui enverront des Morues sèches, de pêche françoise, | dans les îles du Vent de l'Amérique. | Du 31 Juillet 1767. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXVII. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2A. f. 149

338. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat | du Roi, | Du 13 Septembre 1767. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1767. pp. 2. [On Cayenne.] AD. VII. 2A. f. 150

339. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui enjoint à tous Débiteurs, Payeurs des rentes, | Dépositaires & autres Fermiers ou Débiteurs des | nommés Thibault de Chanvalon, Nermand & | Derique, de payer & vider leurs mains en celles | du Séquestre établi par Sa Majesté. | Du 13 Septembre 1767. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXVII. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 152

340. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui nomme des Commissaires pour la liquidation des | Demands, Répétitions & Indemnités à former contre | les nommés Thibault de Chanvalon, Nermand | & Derique. | Du 13 Septembre 1767. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1767. pp. 3[1]. [On Cayenne.] AD. VII. 2A. f. 151

341. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui enjoint à tous Dépositaires des deniers, meubles & | effets des nommés Thibault de Chanvalon, Nermand | & Derique, d'en faire leurs déclarations. | Du 27 Septembre 1767. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXVII. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 153

342. Arrest | du Conseil d'E'tat | du Roi, | Qui, en ordonnant l'exécution de celui du 31 Juillet dernier, | concernant le commerce des Noirs à la côte d'Afrique, exempte | les Negocians des ports de Saint-Malo, du Havre & de Honfleur, | du droit de dix livres par tête de Noirs qu'ils porteront aux Isles | & Colonies françoises. | Du 30 Septembre 1767. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1767. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 29

343. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Du 26 Decembre 1767. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1767. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 154

1768–1771

344. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Qui casse une Sentence rendue le 3 avril 1767, au Siége | de la Table de marbre à Paris, portant homologation d'un | prétendu règlement, concernant une entreprise annoncée sous | le titre d'Association de commerce maritime. | Du 7 Février 1768. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1768. pp. 2.
AD. XI. 9. f. 123

345. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui permet d'entreposer dans les Ports du royaume, pour être | transportés à l'Étranger, dans l'année de l'entrepôt, en exemption | de tous droits, excepté de celui du Domaine d'occident, les | Sirops & Tafias provenant des retours du transport & vente | dans les Isles & Colonies françoises, des Morues sèches de | la pêche nationale. | Du 14 Mars 1768. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1768. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 155

346. Lettres Patentes | du Roi, | Qui accordent à l'Isle de Cayenne & la Guyane françoise, | la liberté de commerce avec toutes les Nations, | pendant douze ans. | Données à Versailles le 1er Mai 1768. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXVIII. pp. 7[1].
AD. VII. 3. f. 30

347. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui supprime le Bureau de Législation des Colonies. | Du 11 Novembre 1768. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1768. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 157

348. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant le payement des Billets de Caisse | de la Colonie de la Louisiane. Du vingt-trois Mars mil sept cent soixante-neuf. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez P. G. Simon, Imprimeur du Parlement, | rue Mignon Saint-André-des-Arcs. 1775. pp. 4.
AD. VII. 2A. f. 158

349. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui permet, aux conditions y énoncées, l'entrepôt dans le port | de Roscoff, des Tafias qui y sont apportés des autres ports | faisant le commerce des Isles. | Du 3 Septembre 1769. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1769. pp. 2.
AD. VII. 2A. f. 159

350. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roy, | Du 6 Avril 1770. COLOPHON: A Paris, De l'Imprimerie de Prault, Quai de | Gêvres, au Paradis. pp. 2. [On Louisiana.] AD. VII. 2A. f. 160

351. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui proroge jusqu'au 1er Juillet prochain, la liquidation | des Billets de Caisse de la colonie de la Louisiane, | que différentes circonstances ont empêché de rapporter | au sieur Marigner, commis pour en faire le payement. Du 14 Avril 1770. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1770. pp. 2.
AD. VII. 2A. f. 161

1772–1774

352. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant création de trois Régimens pour la garde | des Isles de France & de Bourbon. | Du 18 Août 1772. COLOPHON: A Versailles, | de l'Imprimerie du Département de la Marine. | M. DCCLXXII. pp. 17[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 56

353. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant création de quatre Régimens pour le service | des Colonies de l'Amérique. | Du 18 Août 1772. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1772. pp. 14. AD. VII. 2A. f. 162

354. Ordonnance | du Roi, | portant création | de quatre Régimens | pour | le Service des Colonies | de l'Amérique. | Du 18 Août 1772. | A Versailles, | de l'Imprimerie du Département de la Marine. | M. DCCLXXII. pp. 16. AD. VII. 3. f. 55

355. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant les places d'Engagés, dûes par chaque Navire | allant aux Colonies; & le port des Fusils. | Du 10 Septembre 1774. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1774. pp. 6. AD. VII. 2A. f. 163

356. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour la réforme du régiment | de l'Amérique. | Du 26 Decembre 1774. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1775. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 61

357. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour le dépôt de Recrues des Troupes | des colonies à l'Isle-de-Ré. | Du 26 Décembre 1774. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1775. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 62

1775

358. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que les Lettres de Change tirées des Isles de | France & de Bourbon, sur les Trésoriers de la Marine & des | Colonies, dont le payement a été suspendu, seront représentées | au sieur de Mory Caissier de la Compagnie des Indes, pour | en dresser en état qui contiendra l'ordre dans lequel elles | seront acquittées. | Du 15 Janvier 1775. COLOPHON: De l'Imprimerie de Guillaume Desprez, Imprimeur | ordinaire du Roi & du Clergé de France, rue S. Jacques. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 164

359. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne qu'à l'avenir les Sucres raffinés, en pains & en | poudre ou candi, provenant du Commerce des îles de France | & de Bourbon, payeront comme ceux provenant des Isles & | Colonies françoises de l'Amérique, Vingt-deux livres dix sous | par quintal à toutes les Entrées du royaume, tant de la | Bretagne & des provinces réputées étrangères, que des Cinq grosses Fermes. | Du 5 Avril 1775. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1775. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 165

360. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour la réforme des Cadets à l'Aiguillette, | entretenus au Dépôt des Recrues des Colonies | à l'Isle de Ré. | Du 1er Mai 1775. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1775. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 64

361. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant établissement de Hautes-payes, & Distinc- | tions pour les bas Officiers, Soldats & Tambours | des Compagnies de Canonniers-Bombardiers | des Isles du Vent & sous le Vent. | Du 1er Mai 1775. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXV. pp. 6. AD. VII. 3. f. 65

362. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour donner une nouvelle forme aux Régimens | affectés au Service des Colonies de l'Amérique. | Du 1er Mai 1775. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1775. pp. 24. AD. VII. 3. f. 66

363. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant établissement de Hautes-payses, & distinctions | pour les bas Officiers attachés au Dépôt des Recrues | des Colonies, à l'Isle de Ré. | Du 22 Mai 1775. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1775. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 67

364. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour donner une nouvelle forme aux Troupes nationales | de Cayenne: Et qui règle les hautes-payes, tant des | bas Officiers & Soldats desdites Troupes, que de ceux | des Compagnies entretenues à Saint-Pierre & Miquelon, | & à Gorée. | Du 8 Août 1775. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1775. pp. 14. AD. VII. 3. f. 69

365. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant création d'un dépôt de Recrues | qui sera établi à l'Isle-de-Ré. | Du 2 Septembre 1775. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXV. pp. 12. AD. VII. 3. f. 70

366. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui permet aux Négocians de Rochefort, de faire directement | par le port de cette ville le commerce des Isles & Colonies | Françoises de l'Amérique, en se conformant aux dispo- | sitions des Lettres patentes du mois d'Avril 1717. | Du 22 Décembre 1775. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVI. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2^A. f. 166

1776

367. Édit du Roi, | Portant suppression du Conseil supérieur de Pondichery; | & création d'un nouveau Conseil supérieur, | à l'instar des autres Colonies. | Donné à Versailles au mois de Février 1776. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVIII. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2^A. f. 167

368. Arrest | du Conseil d'Etat | du Roi, | Qui permet aux Négocians des ports de Saint-Brieuc, | Binic & Portérieux, de faire directement le com- | merce des Isles & Colonies françoises de l'Amérique. | Du 14 Mars 1776. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez P. G. Simon, Imprimeur du Parlement, | rue Mignon Saint André-des-Arcs, 1776. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2^A. f. 168

369. Édit du Roi, | Portant établissement à Versailles, d'un Dépôt | des Papiers publics des Colonies. | Donné à Versailles au mois de Juin 1776. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVII. pp. 10. AD. VII. 2^A. f. 170

370. Lettres Patentes | du Roi, | Qui ordonnent qu'il sera sursis au jugement des contestations | concernant les Noirs de l'un & de l'autre sexe, jusqu'à | ce que le Roi ait fait connoître ses intentions par un | nouveau Règlement. | Donneés à Versailles le 3 Septembre 1776. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1776. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 31

371. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant la police des Noirs. | Du 8 Septembre 1776. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVI. pp. 2. AD. VII. 3. f. 32

372. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour la formation nouvelle du Dépôt des Recrues | des Colonies, établi à l'Isle de Ré. | Du 12 Septembre 1776. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVI. pp. 14. AD. VII. 3. f. 71

373. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui, en interprétant celui du 14 mars dernier, ordonne que les Négocians | des ports de Saint-Brieuc, Binic & Porterieux, ne pourront à l'avenir | faire directement le commerce des Isles & Colonies françoises de | l'Amérique que par le port de Saint-Brieuc, dans lequel seul ils jouiront | des priviléges accordés par ledit arrêt, en se conformant aux conditions | qui y sont prescrites. | Du 3 Octobre 1776. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1776. pp. 2.
AD. VII. 2A. f. 171

1777

374. Ordonnance | de | l'Amirauté de France, | Portant injonction à toutes personnes demeurantes dans | l'étendue de l'Amirauté de France, ou des Amirautés particu- | lieres de son Ressort, qui ont à leur service des Nègres ou | Mulâtres, de l'un ou l'autre sexe, d'en faire leur déclaration en | personne ou par Procureur, au Greffe de l'Amirauté de France, | ou aux Greffes des Amirautés particulieres de son Ressort; & | à tous Nègres ou Mulâtres que ne sont au service de personne, | de faire pareille déclaration, sous telles peines qu'il appartiendra. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez P. G. Simon, Imprimeur du Parlement & de | l'Amirauté de France, rue Mignon. 1777. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 33

375. Declaration | du Roi, | Qui permet l'entrée & l'entrepôt, dans les différens | Ports du Royaume, des Taffias venans des Colonies | Françoises de l'Amérique. | Donnée à Versailles le 6 Mars 1777. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez P. G. Simon, Imprimeur du Parlement, | rue Mignon Saint André-des Arcs. 1777. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 172

376. Ordonnance | de Nosseigneurs | de l'Amirauté de France, | Portant prorogation du délai accordé par celle du 16 Avril | 1777, aux personnes ayant à leur service des Nègres, Nègresses ou Mulâtres n'etant au service de personne, | pour faire leur déclaration au Greffe de l'Amirauté de France | à Paris, ou aux Greffes des Amirautés particulieres de son | ressort, à peine de 300 livres d'amende contre les Maîtres, & de prison contre les Nègres, Nègresses, Mulâtres, ou | autres gens de couleur. . . . Du sept Juillet mil sept cent soixante-dix-sept. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez P. G. Simon, Imprimeur du Parlement, & de | Nosseigneurs de l'Amirauté de France, rue Mignon, 1777. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 34

377. Déclaration | du Roi, | Pour la Police des Noirs. | Donnée à Versailles le 9 Août 1777. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1777. pp. 6. AD. VII. 3. f. 36

378. Déclaration | du Roi, | pour la Police | des Noirs. | Donnée à Versailles le neuf Août 1777. | Registrée en Parlement le 27 Août 1777. [ARMS.] A Paris, | Chez P. G. Simon, Imprimeur du Parlement, | rue Mignon Saint André-des-Arcs. | M. DCC. LXXVII. pp. 8. AD. VII. 3. f. 35

379. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui accorde pour le terme & espace de quinze ans, aux | Syndics, Administrateurs & Intéressés dans la Compagnie | de la Guyane françoise, | le privilége exclusif de la | traite des Noirs & du commerce en l'île de Gorée & | sur les côtes d'Afrique, depuis le Cap-verd jusqu'à la | rivière de Casamance. | Du 14 Août 1777. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVII. pp. 4.
AD. VII. 2A. f. 173a

380. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour régler provisoirement le traitement des Officiers, | bas Officiers & Soldats des quatre Régimens | Coloniaux des Isles du Vent & sous le Vent. | Du 28 Août 1777. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVII. pp. 6. AD. VII. 3. f. 76

381. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour donner une nouvelle forme aux Six Compagnies de | Canonniers-Bombardiers des îles du Vent & sous le Vent de | l'Amérique, & assimiler leur traitement à celui des Troupes | du Corps-royal employées dans les mêmes Colonies. | Du 28 Août 1777. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1777. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 72

382. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour régler le traitement des Régimens d'Infanterie qui | seront employés dans les Colonies de l'Amérique. | Du 28 Août 1777. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1777. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 74

383. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour régler le traitement des Troupes du Corps-royal de l'Artillerie, | qui seront employées dans les Colonies de l'Amérique. | Du 28 Août 1777. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1777. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 73

384. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour régler le traitement des Compagnies de | Dragons qui seront employées dans les | Colonies de l'Amérique. | Du 28 Août 1777. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1777. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 75

385. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant le retour des Noirs, Mulâtres ou autres gens | de couleur aux Colonies. | Du 7 Septembre 1777. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVII. pp. 2. AD. VII. 3. f. 38

386. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Portant suppression d'un Ouvrage intitulé: Considérations | sur l'état présent de la Colonie Françoise de | Saint-Domingue. | Du 17 Decembre 1777. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1777. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2[A]. f. 173

1778–1779

387. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Pour la Police des Noirs, Mulâtres, ou autres | Gens de couleur qui sont dans la ville | de Paris. | Du 11 Janvier 1778. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVIII. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 39

388. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant défenses aux Capitaines de Navires de laisser | débarquer aucun Noir, Mulâtre ou autre gens | de Couleur, avant d'avoir fait leur rapport | à l'Amirauté. | Du 23 Février 1778. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVIII. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 40

389. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant les Mariages des Noirs, Mulâtres | ou autres Gens de Couleur. | Du 5 Avril 1778. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez P. G. Simon, Imprimeur du Parlement, | rue Mignon Saint André-des-Arcs. 1778. pp. 2. AD. VII. 3. f. 41

390. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant les Mariages des Noirs, Mulâtres | ou autres Gens de Couleur. | Du 5 Avril 1778. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVIII. pp. 2. AD. VII. 3. f. 42

391. Règlement | concernant | les Prises | Que des Corsaires François conduiront dans | les Ports des États-unis de l'Amérique; | et celles que les Corsaires Américains | amèneront dans les Ports de France. | Du 27 Septembre 1778. A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXVIII. pp. 8. NYPL

392. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour régler le traitement des régimens d'Infanterie | qui seront employés dans les Colonies situées | au-delà du Cap de Bonne-espérance. | Du 14 Novembre 1779. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1779. pp. 6. AD. VII. 3. f. 77

393. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour régler un Uniforme aux Officiers | réformés des Troupes des Colonies. | Du 28 Novembre 1779. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1779. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 78

394. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui fixe les règles, les époques & la forme de la distribution | de la Justice en l'ile de la Grenade & dépendances. | Du 12 Décembre 1779. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1780. pp. 6. AD. VII. 2A. f. 175

395. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant les Dettes des Habitans de l'Isle | de la Grenade. | Du 12 Décembre 1779. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXX. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 174

396. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour l'établissement d'une compagnie de Cadets- | Gentilshommes à l'Isle de Ré pour | le département des Colonies. | Du 13 Décembre 1779. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXIX. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 79

397. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Concernant les Règles qui seront observées pour les | Grâces militaires, Avancement & Grades qui | seront accordés à l'avenir aux Officiers des Troupes | & des États-majors employés au département | des Colonies. | Du 13 Décembre 1779. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1779. pp. 11[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 80

1780–1783

398. Lettre du Roi | à M. l'Amiral, | Concernant le Jugement des Prises faites par | les Corsaires que les États-Unis d'Amé- | rique arment dans les Ports du France. | Du 10 Août 1780. [COLOPHON:] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXX. 1 l. NYPL

399. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant réunion des Dépôts de Recrues des Colonies, | de celui de l'Inde, & des trois Compagnies d'Infanterie | affectées à la garde du Port de l'Orient, pour ne former | ensemble qu'un seul & même Corps, sous la dénomination | de Bataillon auxiliaire des Régimens des Colonies. | Du 25 Juillet 1781. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXI. pp. 15[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 85

400. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Concernant la Compagnie des Cadets-gentils- | hommes des Troupes des Colonies. | Du 10 Août 1781. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXI. pp. 8. AD. VII. 3. f. 86

401. Lettres Patentes | du Roi, | en Forme d'Édit, | Concernant les Anoblissemens dans les Colonies françoises, | & les preuves de Noblesse

à faire dans le royaume par | les habitans desdites Colonies. | Données à Versailles le 24 Août 1782. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. M. DCCLXXXIII. pp. 7[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 176

402. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui fixe l'époque du payement des Lettres de change de | l'Inde & de l'Amérique, non déjà enregistrées, relatives | aux dépenses de la Marine, pendant la Guerre. | Du 23 Février 1783. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXIII. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. 177

403. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Pour le renouvellement des Cartouches des Noirs | & autres Gens de couleur qui sont à Paris. | Du 23 Mars 1783. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1783. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 44

404. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Pour le renouvellement des Cartouches des Noirs | & autres Gens de couleur qui sont à Paris. | Du 23 Mars 1783. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez P. G. Simon, & N. H. Nyon, | Imprimeurs du Parlement, rue Mignon, 1783. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 43

405. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui permet aux Bâtimens étrangers arrivans directement des côtes | d'Afrique, avec des cargaisons de cent quatre-vingts Noirs, | au moins, | d'aborder dans le port principal de chacune des îles | de la Martinique, la Guadeloupe, Sainte-Lucie & Tabago, | jusqu'au 1er Août 1786, & d'y vendre lesdits Noirs, en | payant pour chaque tête de Noirs, Négresses, Négrillons ou | Négrites, un droit de cent livres argent de France, dont le | produit sera employé en primes sur les Noirs, provenant de la | Traite françoise, qui seront introduits pendant le même temps | audites Isles du Vent. | Du 28 Juin 1783. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1783. pp. 6. AD. VII. 3. f. 45

406. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant le payement des Lettres de change | de l'Inde & de l'Amérique. | Du 1er Decembre 1783. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1783. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 178

407. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Concernant les États-majors des Isles du Vent | de l'Amérique. | Du 20 Décembre 1783. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1784. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 81

1784

408. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui supprime le privilége exclusif de la traite des Noirs à Gorée | & dependances, & accorde en dédommagement, pour le terme | & espace de neuf années, à commencer du 1er Juillet prochain, | aux Concessionnaires, Intéressés & Administrateurs de la Com- | pagnie de la Guyane françoise, celui de la traite de la Gomme | seulement, dans la rivière du Sénégal & dépendances. | Du 11 Janvier 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXIV. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 46

409. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Pour l'incorporation des différens Corps employés | au département des Colonies, dans les régimens | de la Martinique & de la Guadeloupe, pour y | former un troisième Bataillon. |

Du 26 Février 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. M. DCCLXXXIV. pp. 8. AD. VII. 3. f. 88

410. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant réduction sur les appointemens des | États-majors des régimens Coloniaux, & | suppression des Chefs de bataillon. | Du 28 Février 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1784. pp. 2. AD. VII. 3. f. 89

411. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant suppression des Ingénieurs des Colonies, & fixation | du traitement des Officiers du Corps royal de Génie, qui | seront chargés du service des Fortifications aux Indes | orientales & occidentales. | Du 14 Mars 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXIV. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 90

412. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui prolonge jusqu'au 1^er^ Juillet 1792, l'effet des Lettres | patentes du 1^er^ mai 1768, qui accordoient à l'Isle de | Cayenne & à la Guyane Françoise, la liberté de Commerce | avec toutes les Nations. | Du 15 Mai 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1784. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2^A^. f. 179

413. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui règle le payement des Récépisses de Papier-monnoie des Isles | de France & de Bourbon, ordonne la vérification de tous | Papiers-monnoie existans dans lesdites Isles, défend d'en créer | & autoriser à l'avenir pour quelque cause que ce puisse être. | Du 8 Août 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1784. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2^A^. f. 180

414. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant le Commerce étranger dans les îles | Françoises de l'Amérique. | Du 30 Août 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXIV. pp. 10. AD. VII. 3. f. 47

415. Arrest | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant le Commerce étranger dans les Isles Françoises | de l'Amérique. | Du 30 Août 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez P. G. Simon & H. N. Nyon, Imprimeurs | du Parlement, rue Mignon, 1784. pp. 8. AD. VII. 2^A^. f. 181

416. Iteratives | Observations | des Négociants du Havre, | Sur l'Arrêt du Conseil d'État du Roi, du 30 Août 1784, | concernant le Commerce étranger dans les Isles Francoises | de l'Amérique. pp. 16. AD. XI. 9. f. —

417. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Portant création du Corps-royal de | l'Artillerie des Colonies. | Du 24 Octobre 1784. [ARMS.] A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXIV. pp. 36. AD. VII. 3. f. 93

418. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui, à compter du 10 Novembre prochain, convertit | en Gratifications & Primes l'exemption du demi- | droit accordée aux Denrées coloniales provenant de | la Traite des Noirs. | Du 26 Octobre 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1784. pp. 8. AD. VII. 3. f. 48

419. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Concernant les Armemens de Commerce pour les | Isles & Colonies Françoises. | Du 31 Octobre 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1784. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 2^A^. f. 183

420. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Concernant les Procureurs & Économes-gérans | des habitations situées aux Isles sous le Vent. | Du 3 Décembre 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, chez Prault, Libraire, quai de Gêvres, | 1786. pp. 20. AD. VII. 2^A^. f. 184

421. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Concernant la Formation & la Solde des Troupes | affectées au Service des Colonies orientales | & occidentales. | Du 10 Décembre 1784. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXIV. pp. 20. AD. VII. 3. f. 94

1785–1789

422. Règlement | de sa Majesté, | Pour déterminer la forme qui sera suivie pour | les demandes des Grâces, de quelque nature | qu'elles soient, qui pourront être faites par | les Officiers militaires ou d'Administration, | employés au département des Colonies. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1785. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 95

423. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que la gratification accordée au Commerce pour la | Traite des Négres, sera restituée à l'Adjudicataire des Fermes, | avec moitié en sus, par les Armateurs qui l'auroit reçue, & qui | n'auront pas importé des Noirs aux Colonies. | Du 5 Juin 1785. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1785. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 49

424. Ordonnance | du Roi, | Concernant les Officiers de Port dans les Colonies | Orientales & Occidentales. | Du 1er Janvier 1786. COLOPHON: A Prais, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1786. pp. 4. AD. VII. 3. f. 96

425. Arrêt | de la Cour de Parlement, | rendu en la Grand'Chambre, | Qui décharge les sieurs Le Mort, Thibault | d'Aranxelles, Cyr Prevost & | Magnier, anciens Administrateurs de l'Isle de la | Grenade, des plaintes & accusations intentées contr'eux, sauf | à eux à se retirer pardevers le Roi pour raison des indemnités | qui peuvent leur être dues. | Du 29 Août 1786. COLOPHON: Chez P. G. Simon, & N. H. Nyon, Imprimeurs du Parlement, ruë Mignon. 1786. pp. 20. AD. VII. 2A. f. 185

426. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui proroge jusqu'au 1er Août 1789, la permission accordée par l'arrêt | du 28 juin 1783, d'introduire aux Isles du Vent, dans les Ports | d'entrepôt, les Noirs de Traite étrangère, avec une diminution de droits | à l'entrée: Qui permet pendant le même temps, l'exportation du Sucre | brut de l'isle de Sainte-Lucie à l'Étranger, en acquittant les droits du | Domaine d'Occident; & qui porte à Deux Cents livres par tête la | Prime accordée par l'arrêt du Conseil du 16 octobre 1784, aux | Négocians François, sur les Noirs de Traite Françoise, qui seront | introduits dans le port des Cayes-St.-Louis à Saint-Domingue, | pour l'approvisionnement de la partie du Sud de ladite Isle, en observant | les formalités prescrites. | Du 10 Septembre 1786. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M DCCLXXXVII. pp. 8. AD. VII. 3. f. 50

427. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne la translation de l'Entrepôt de la | Pointe-à-Pitre à la Basseterre-Guadeloupe. | Du 28 Décembre 1786. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1787. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 188

428. Ordonnance | du | Gouvernement. | Partant établissement provisoire | dans l'Isle de Tabago d'une | Assemblée Coloniale et d'un | Comité en dépendant. [Same in English.] Tabago, | Chez George Burnett Imprimeur du Roi, | Avec Privilege exclusif. | M. DCC. LXXXVII. F ° pp. 17[1]. AD. VII. 2A. f. —

429. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui permet l'admission en franchise des Bâtimens | étrangers au Port-Louis en l'Isle-de-France. | Du 27 Mai 1787. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXVII. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 189

430. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Pour l'encouragement du Commerce de France | avec les États-Unis de l'Amerique. | Du 29 Décembre 1787. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1788. pp. 6. AD. XI. 9. f. —

431. Règlement | fait par le Roi, | Portant établissement d'un Conseil d'Administration du | Département de la Marine, sous le titre de Conseil | de la Marine. | Du 19 Mars 1788. COLOPHON: A Versailles, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXVIII. pp. 14. AD. VII. 3. f. 101

432. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui ordonne que le Port de Gravelines sera | ouvert au commerce privilégié des Colonies & | des Pêches. | Du 7 Avril 1788. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1788. pp. 2. AD. VII. 2A. f. 190

433. Édit du Roi, | Portant création de Six Millions de Papier-monnoie | pour les Isles de France & de Bourbon. | Donné à Versailles le 10 Juin 1788. COLOPHON: A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1789. pp. 10. AD. VII. 2A. f. 191

434. Règlement | Concernant les Élèves du Corps-royal de l'Artillerie | des Colonies. | Du 13 Juillet 1788. COLOPHON: A Versailles, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1788. pp. 6. AD. VII. 3. f. 97

435. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui excepte de la prohibition portée par l'arrêt du | 28 septembre dernier, les Huiles de Baleine & | d'autres Poisson, ainsi que les fanons de Baleine, | provenant de la pêche des États-unis de l'Amérique. | Du 7 Décembre 1788. COLOPHON: A Paris, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M. DCCLXXXIX. pp. 4. AD. XI. 41. f. —

436. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui proroge, jusqu'au 1er Août 1790, les dispositions de celui | du 10 Septembre 1786, concernant les Primes accordées à l'in- | troduction des Noirs de traite françoise aux Isles du Vent, | à Cayenne & aux Cayes, dans la partie du Sud Saint- | Domingue, ainsi que la liberté provisoire de l'exportation | à l'étranger des sucres bruts de l'île de Sainte-Lucie. | Du 2 Juillet 1789. COLOPHON: A Versailles, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1789. pp. 3[1]. AD. VII. 3. f. 51

437. Arrêt | du Conseil d'État | du Roi, | Qui casse & annulle une Ordonnance du Gouverneur | général de Saint-Domingue, du 9 Mai dernier, laquelle | accordoit aux Étrangers la liberté du Commerce pour | la partie du Sud de Saint-Domingue. | Du 2 Juillet 1789. COLOPHON: A Versailles, | de l'Imprimerie Royale. | M DCC. LXXXIX. pp. 4. AD. VII. 2A. f. 192

George Bancroft to Henry Cabot Lodge

1623 H Street, N. W.

Washington, D.C., 26 December, 1884

Dear Lodge, — I am not able to answer your question; but as Publius describes the man about whom you inquire, as a member of Congress alike in October and November, 1778, and as the sinful conduct of which Hamilton complains preceded the 19th of October, it must be a person who was chosen by New York into Congress in 1777 and again in 1778. On the comparison of the elections for the two years you will find three only who were members for both years, and one of those three must be the man; out of these you must make the selection yourself and I desire you not to cite me on the occasion.[1]

And now, my dear Lodge, let me add for you a word of friendship and advice. I did not think your Life of Hamilton marked by that devotedness of attention and close comparison and reflection which so important a work demanded. This opinion I have never expressed except one day conversing with Henry Adams and once with my daughter-in-law, Mrs. J[ohn] C. B[ancroft.] I venture in the purpose of real regard for you to press that idea upon you, the more so as you are now to publish what is so much needed — an edition of Hamilton's complete works. It will cause you much labor, but only labor that is necessary to give his productions a correct test. To give to the work completeness, you ought to re-arrange the letters printed by John C. Hamilton and print, perhaps, some which he omitted. The separation of Hamilton's letters in J. C's edition was, as I happen to know, merely of his own will, and for a transient purpose having reference to Congress. You will find that the essays which Hamilton wrote are incompletely given.

I approve your annexing to his works the Federalist as I consider his letters in that series of papers the most valuable and the most important of his works; but I hope you will there do what I regretted to see that you neglected in your Life of Hamilton, give every man his due that contributed to the Federalist. I know after the most thorough search in New York, where I lived for twenty years, that there is no list in existence of the authorship of the Federalist as made out by Hamilton himself; and that there is not in existence any copy that can claim to be a copy of a list made by Hamilton. There can arise no question about the correctness of the list made by Madison of his own pieces, or of the list which is

[1] The letters of Publius were directed against Samuel Chase of Maryland.

now generally received as to the papers by Jay. This is said in the love of truth. I am a great admirer of Hamilton, but where I have spoken of him, my attempt has not been to set him up as the head of a party, but as far as possible to present him to the country so as to gain for him the admiration and affectionate esteem of every party. Nobody spoke better for the adoption of the constitution, though he was of those, so he says himself, who were least satisfied with it. Nobody spoke more decidedly for the election of Jefferson by Congress than Hamilton, and to a certain degree, but only to a certain degree, he may be said to have fallen a victim to the relentless hatred which his action in that election engendered.

There is also in the late publication of Biddle in Philadelphia, some information about Burr and Hamilton and the circumstances of their duel, which you ought to look at.

The result of the late election having left you leisure for literary pursuits, pray take this opportunity of your service as the editor of Hamilton's works to give completeness to your edition and to gain a reputation less perishable than any reputation you could get by an election to Congress. As for the lives of statesmen which our friend Houghton is publishing, that of Gay on Madison is a poor specimen, and shows how foolish prejudices, worn out as they are, may be preserved in a succeeding generation as heirlooms. In the study of history a man must have no object but the truth, or he will not find truth. Ever, dear Lodge, your faithful friend.

GEO. BANCROFT.

HENRY CABOT LODGE TO GEORGE BANCROFT

31 Beacon Street,

[BOSTON,] Dec. 27th, 1884

DEAR MR. BANCROFT, — A thousand thanks for your kind letter. No compliment that you could have paid me would have pleased me half so much as that you should take sufficient interest in me to criticise my work and point out to me where I have erred and where I ought to improve. It is the sincerest mark of kindness and friendship, and I assure you I appreciate it deeply. I am only too conscious that my life of Hamilton is not all it should be. But the limitations of the series were such that elaborate and thorough treatment such as many points deserved was impossible. I strove merely to present as vivid a picture of the man as possible. I have a profound and growing admiration of Hamilton and close study of his works is the cause. The new edition has already come

to a most formidable size. I omit all the valueless matter of the J[ohn] C. H[amilton] edition, of which there is much, revenue circulars, routine business letters and the like, and I am obliged to drop all letters *to* Hamilton. As it is the edition is looming up to nine volumes. This is due to my including the Federalist and the Reynolds pamphlet, and all omitted letters of any consequence. That J. C. H. mutilated the private correspondence I was aware, and, thanks to Mr. Dwight, I am having the published letters collated with the originals. I am horrified to learn from you, however, that the essays are incorrect and incomplete. This opens a vista of collation which is not encouraging when publishers are in a hurry.

The amount of annotation required by the papers seems to me so far very slight. Hamilton usually tells his own story pretty fully and clearly. The Biddle publication to which you refer I think I have heard of but do not know the title. Could you kindly send it to me.

Beyond the satisfaction of trying to do well a piece of work that ought to be done, there is not much of any thing in the way of reward in editing these papers; but it is a labor of love with me and I take great satisfaction in finding that you approve the new edition.

In regard to the person to whom Publius addressed his letter, you seem to assume that he was a member from New York. It was certainly neither Duaine nor Morris, and from all I can learn of Francis Lewis he seems a most unlikely person to be so accused. But why does it follow that he was from New York? I can see nothing which shows that this was the case. It seems to me that the sinner might have been from any other state. J. C. Hamilton, in his *History of the Republic,* says: "The state thus misrepresented passed a prudential Resolution," and leaves it there. Could you tell me why, beyond general probability, you think the member in question was from New York?

In regard to the Federalist I did not have space to discuss the authorship in the *Life*. I hope to do so in this edition and I have something new on the subject, which I think will interest you. I knew from Mr. Baker, the editor of Seward, that search had been made for the Hamilton list at the State Department and that it had not been found. Mr. Baker sent me a memorandum to that effect. My new material is this.

The first revised and corrected edition of the Federalist, the first edition worthy of the name, was, as you know, that of George Hopkins, published in New York in 1802. I have my great-grandfather's, George Cabot's, copy. In the preface it is said: "It was intended to mark the numbers distinctly which were written by

each." To this there is a MS. note appended in Mr. Cabot's handwriting as follows: "those by Mr. Jay and Mr. Madison are now mark'd with his edition, those without a mark are from the pen of Hamilton." The names of Jay and Madison, and, in the case of Madison and Hamilton joint essays, the two names, are written in, also in Mr. Cabot's hand, at the head of each essay. This would appear to have been done when he first received the book. It was certainly long before Madison's list appeared. Mr. Cabot, I need not say to you, was intimate with Hamilton and in a position to know about the authorship. His marking gives 2, 3, 4 and 5, to Jay; 10, 14 and 37–48 inclusive, to Madison; 18, 19 and 20, to Madison and Hamilton, and the rest to Hamilton. This agrees with the Benson list, except that it does not give 64 to Jay, to whom it belongs undoubtedly. In the second volume of Mr. Cabot's copy a slip of paper is wafered in, written in a woman's hand, thus:

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 54 by Mr. Jay.

Nos. 10, 14, 37–48 inclusive by Mr. Madison.

Nos. 18, 19, 20, Mr. Hamilton and Madison jointly. All the rest by Mr. Hamilton; below, in Mr. Cabot's hand, this is written: 85 whole — 19 = 66. This corresponds exactly, even to the error of 54 for 64 with the list given, or said to have been given, to Benson and which has disappeared. It is not without interest. Pardon my trespassing so on your time and believe me with many thanks truly yours.

H. C. LODGE.

J. W. Ellison & Co. Belmont, Mass.

John A. Aiken

MEMOIR

OF

JOHN ADAMS AIKEN

BY GEORGE L. ESQ. OF GREENFIELD

[Communicated by request of the Essex Institute.]

John Adams Aiken was born in Greenfield on September 18, 1811, and died at Salisbury, Mass., on January 18, 1891. He graduated at Dartmouth College in the class of 1833, and after studying law in the office of Hon. Joseph Dane, was admitted to the bar of Essex County in 1836. He practised his profession in Salisbury, Mass., for a period of fifty-four years, and was a familiar figure in the Superior Court, of which he was the Clerk during the last twenty years. To the members of the bar, to which he was an honored elder, a notable figure has passed away. To the people of the town, in which he was a prominent citizen, a notable figure has passed away. To those who knew him, the combination of a notable lawyer and the highest qualities of humanity, courtesy and dignity, is all more apparent by a genial humor of a rare sort. Though never seeking for notoriety or popularity, he was probably the best loved among the members of the Massachusetts bar throughout the term of his service upon the bench. Never attempting to be or make himself a "good fellow" to the lawyers who came into his court, his coming to a session of the court was hailed with pleasure, his attention to the business in which he presided, and the law was before him with a feeling that, whether they prevailed or lost in their cause, their clients' affairs would be dealt with fairly and that they would be dealt with courteously.

He was the son of David Aiken and Mary Elizabeth Adams. The latter was a native of New Hampshire, who came to Franklin County as a young man, beginning the practice of the law in Colrain, then the largest town in the county, and a community of wealthy and prosperous farmers. He was [illegible]

MEMOIR

OF

JOHN ADAMS AIKEN

By JOHN C. LEE, OF GREENFIELD

[Communicated by Francis Tiffany Bowles.]

John Adams Aiken was born in Greenfield on September 16, 1850, and died in Baltimore, Md., on January 28, 1927. Throughout his life he remained a resident of the town of his birth, bringing to the town and to himself the honor of twenty-four years of service as a Justice of the Superior Court, of which he was the Chief Justice for seventeen years. To the work of the bench, to which he was appointed after a notable career at the bar, he brought at the same time the attainments of a capable lawyer and the highest qualities of fairness, courtesy and dignity, at all times warmed by a genial humor of a rare sort. Though never striving for acclaim or popularity, he was probably the best loved among the members of the Massachusetts bar throughout the term of his service upon the bench. Never attempting to be or make himself a "good fellow" to the lawyers who came into his court, his coming to a session of the court was invariably the occasion for satisfaction to the locality in which he presided, and the bar went before him with a feeling that, whether they prevailed or lost in their cases, their clients' affairs would be dealt with fairly and that they would be dealt with courteously.

He was the son of David Aiken and Mary Elizabeth Adams. The father was a native of New Hampshire, who came to Franklin County as a young man, beginning the practice of the law in Ashfield, then the largest town in the county, and a community of solid and prosperous farmers. He soon re-

moved to Greenfield, the county seat, where he pursued the practice of his profession, for many years occupying a law office in one of the small single story type of buildings which many old time country squires had erected for their work, adjoining his residence. He served for three years, and until its abolition, as a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and following that service he continued to be known, fittingly, as Judge Aiken. He was of the rugged physique, courtly manners and quick mind which went to make him, in appearance and in character, long remembered as the typical country squire, respected as an adviser and feared as an antagonist. John Adams Aiken's mother was a woman of sweet and homely ways, of the type to whose home the youthful associates of her five children, of whom John was the eldest, were always welcomed. Those who knew both parents traced in the keen mind and his fondness for nature characteristics imparted in the one instance by the father and in the other by the mother, whose garden was to her as to her neighbors, the source of great joy.

Pursuing his education in the public schools of Greenfield and at Phillips Academy at Andover, John A. Aiken graduated from Dartmouth in 1874, being a classmate of Samuel A. McCall, at one time Governor of Massachusetts. Throughout his life he was affiliated with the Democratic party, but his party adherence was not too strict to prevent his attending a Republican rally held in Greenfield at the beginning of Governor McCall's campaign and introducing the candidate to his townsmen. His party attachment, while real and definite, was in many instances in the background, for he was, in 1882, elected to the legislature, and in 1889 elected District Attorney, each time by a district strongly Republican in its tendencies, and his appointment to the superior bench in 1898 was made by Governor Wolcott, a Republican, as was his appointment as Chief Justice made in 1905, by William L. Douglas.

For a time he acted as principal of the old Academy at Northfield, Massachusetts, and for a time he served in journalistic employment, developing or utilizing a happy faculty for expressing himself in able English which was from time to time resorted to by him in writing articles or papers, generally

on historical subjects, which had poignancy and charm, as did all his expressions. He studied law at the Harvard Law School, and on August 21, 1876, was admitted to the bar of Franklin County. He at once entered upon practice with his father, and for twenty-three years he was actively engaged in the general practice of his profession. He served his community in various ways; as a legislator, as has been stated, as secretary of the Agricultural Society of the county for two years, as District Attorney, and always as a citizen keenly interested in its welfare. The activities of the societies interesting themselves in local history were especially attractive to him. He was a member of the Pocumptuck Valley Memorial Association, joining that organization in 1891, and serving as a member of the council and for several years as its vice president, and contributing a number of notable papers to its archives. He also served as president of the Greenfield Historical Society, and in 1917 was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His interest in the travelled ways of the olden times was keen, and to the work which he did in bringing to light the course of the aborigines over Hoosac Mountain is to be attributed the perpetuation of the route in the name of the present " Mohawk Trail."

His summers were spent in Greenfield, and his greatest interest aside from his judicial duties was in his home and especially in his home garden. Here the love of nature and the works of nature aided by man, inherited from his mother, led him to establish and maintain in his spacious home grounds, a garden of remarkable variety and charm. In his earlier years the home garden, located at the rear of the homestead established by his father on Main Street, received his loving attention, and when, in 1893, he started his own home upon a hill top in the eastern part of the village, unusual attention was paid to beautifying and maintaining, year by year, a garden in which were preserved the old-fashioned beauties of the flower garden, with many newer and most rare products of horticultural skill which were to him and to his friends an unending source of delight.

He married in 1895 Miss Maria Willard Dickinson, of Baltimore, Md., who survives him.

His life activities encompassed the various phases of the

career of an able and highly respected country lawyer, chosen by his community to perform the duties of a public prosecutor, and later appointed to preside, as Justice and then as Chief Justice, over the trial court of the Commonwealth. To these activities he brought qualities which made him highly respected and greatly loved. His private life was filled with the pursuit of beauty. The ways, habits and manners of the past interested him, and the objects and tales of the earlier times of Yankee life were treasured by him, to be displayed or related with thorough charm. In his home community he was greatly loved, and throughout the Commonwealth the many who came in contact with him went on their way feeling that from him there had radiated the fairness which is the best of justice and the object of law.

MAY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 12, 1927, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the April and annual meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Dr. F. F. Tucker, of Tehchow, Shantung, China, the records of the Massachusetts Mining Company, 1836–1839.

From William B. H. Dowse, his letter of appointment as Deputy Governor to represent Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, at the 300th Anniversary in the Netherlands of the departure of the Pilgrims from that country.

From Langdon Frothingham, a volume containing the European letters and journal of the Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, August 2, 1826, to July 2, 1827.

From Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., papers on the monument to the Chevalier de Saint Sauveur, raised on the grounds of King's Chapel, Boston, by the Commonwealth, May 24, 1917.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, a photograph of himself, Senator Lodge, and Dr. Henry P. Walcott, taken at Tuckernuck by the late Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow about 1900.

From Miss Mary Lovering Rhoades, a photograph of Rev. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, minister of the Church in Brattle Square.

From Langdon Frothingham, the wedding fan of Abigail Harris (1718–1792) who was married to his great-great-grandfather, Nathaniel Langdon (1695–1757) on November 23, 1738.

From Francis Henry Appleton, a photograph of an engraving of his ancestor, John Sullivan of Berwick, Maine, father of Gov. James Sullivan, first president of the Historical Society.

From the Misses Norton, a French Pondicherry coin, 1750–1760, owned by their father, the late Charles Eliot Norton; and a splinter from the frigate *Macedonian,* given to Theodore Sedgwick, Jr.

From Dr. Horace Packard, medals and coins.

From James B. Wilbur, the Bennington half-dollar, 1927.

From Miss Sibyl K. Stone, paper money of 1776, 1778, and 1784.

From Mrs. Charles H. Joy, a photograph of a caricature of Jefferson Davis.

From Malcolm Storer, two Belgian medals, 1918.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Claude Halstead Van Tyne accepting corresponding membership and from Roger Wolcott accepting resident membership in the Society.

Dr. Shattuck presented, on behalf of Miss Mary Lothrop, the first twenty-dollar gold coin struck in 1907 from the St. Gaudens design, the design being depressed on the suggestion of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, to permit of stacking the coins. This first example was sent to Dr. Bigelow by President Roosevelt in recognition of his suggestion.

Dr. Shattuck also presented, on behalf of Francis Wright Fabyan, the published account of the dinner given by George Peabody to the Americans connected with the London Exhibition of 1851, one of six copies printed on vellum. It was given by Mr. Peabody to Robert C. Winthrop in Boston, in 1867, and the other five copies had gone to the Duke of Wellington, Prince Albert, Lord Granville, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, and Abbott Lawrence.

Professor Clarence Henry Haring, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

In announcing the death of Mr. Beveridge, the PRESIDENT said:

On April 27, 1927, Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, former Senator of the United States from the State of Indiana, died at Indianapolis. He was elected a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society on May 8, 1919. At a meeting of the Society held last December Mr. Beveridge made a remarkable address on "The Mind of the South before the War of Secession." This address was particularly interesting in view of the fact that at that time he had been working for some years upon his forthcoming life of Abraham Lincoln, and was familiar with conditions existing in the South during that period.

Mr. Beveridge took a keen interest in the work of the Society, attended its meetings, when it was possible for him to

do so, and was able to find in its enormous collections a mass of material which assisted him in writing his famous life of John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and also in writing his contemplated life of Lincoln, which, unfortunately for posterity, remains unfinished.

Mr. MORSE then paid a tribute to Mr. Beveridge:

The death of Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, announced by our President, deserves to be described as a veritable calamity. He was still in the full vigour of manhood; he had done great work, and he was engaged in doing much greater, when the sudden fatality interrupted. If any death may ever be said to be premature, almost a cruelty of Nature, surely this may be said in his case. He began life upon a somewhat low rung of the industrial ladder, but made a rapid and vigorous ascent. Born in 1862, he was already a Senator of the United States in 1899, and upon the expiration of his term was returned for a second, which expired in 1911. Though so young he was noted among his seniors as one of the ablest and most energetic members of that dignified body. For many years thereafter he led an active life, interested in politics, practising law, writing sundry volumes. In 1916 he surprised the reading public by the publication of the first two volumes of his four-volume *Life of John Marshall*. The other two followed soon afterward. By this enterprise he furnished good proof of at least two distinguishing qualities: courage and literary ability. Courage, because to face the chance of interesting the " general reader " in an elaborate life of a lawyer who had never been engaged in spectacular cases and was known only as a learned jurist, unquestionably was an act of great daring. Literary ability, because he performed his perilous task with such vivacity and picturesqueness that not only professional men placed a high value on the volumes, but even the perfunctory general reader read through the four somewhat bulky tomes without skipping a page. This was an astonishing triumph, and gave proof at once cheering and convincing of his power as a writer. In fact, noble and sufficient in itself as the work appeared to be, it was really only an *avant*

courier for something much greater. The thought of a grand and ambitious undertaking was hatching in Mr. Beveridge's brain. He made up his mind to write a Life of Abraham Lincoln, probably in many respects and for many causes the most difficult biography which has ever had to be written of any man in any age of the world. It was to be on a large scale, so thorough and exhaustive that it would never have to be done again — a book for all time, a full and conclusive presentment of a man and a career unique in all the annals of all the ages. If such a task could ever be done by anybody, it was fair to hope for it from Mr. Beveridge. His equipment could never be rivalled. He had grown to manhood in Indiana which lay side by side with Illinois, where Lincoln had passed nearly all his life: and though the West had been developing rapidly since Lincoln was a lawyer and a politician in the nascent region, still the old-time peculiar atmosphere had not been entirely displaced in the days of Mr. Beveridge's youth, and the generation which had been more or less familiar with Lincoln's earlier life had by no means wholly passed away. Anecdotes and personal reminiscences must have been still floating about when Beveridge was a youngster. Then, too, his own career had made him familiar with political routine and lines of thought. Further he had had abundant experience in literary work. Yet with all these advantages it was an impressive enterprise upon which he was embarked. It meant labour on an appalling scale; it meant long years of assiduous study, much of it of a rather wearisome nature; it meant a considerable outlay of money; it involved a severe strain upon health and endurance. Yet the reward of achievement would be commensurate; it would immortalise his name in splendid connection with that of his hero. Appreciating, as he must have done, all this, he made his resolve and set about his work. I have had the privilege of reading his manuscript, chapter by chapter, as he composed it, and I really feel shy about expressing my opinion of it, because any just expression would seem to convey laudation of that extreme kind which appears extravagant and is in danger of begetting distrust. The research has been immeasurable; books, of course, and speeches and letters are cited without limit; newspapers too, not only the leading sheets of the great cities, but the smaller papers pub-

lished in towns and villages and showing the trend in smaller communities, have all alike been ransacked. A third, often a half, of each manuscript page is devoted to the mere citation of authorities. Woe betide a critic who shall venture to call in question the accuracy of a superstructure which has been reared upon such a basis! Already the times and the people seem strange to us, sometimes almost bizarre. It is undeniable that had this work not been done by a writer living so near to the time, personally to some extent cognizant of the men of that era and neighbourhood, it could never have been properly done at all. No mere reading and delving, thirty years later, could have made it possible for any writer to give us the living picture which Mr. Beveridge has drawn. As for the great central figure of the painting, it may be said that the sketch is not only vivid and lifelike, but — what is vastly more important — it is TRUE. There is no deification; neither is there any vulgarisation. To both these processes Mr. Lincoln has been subjected. This drawing, rigidly honest, gives the conviction of exact accuracy, like a life-size photograph; it is as complete a reproduction as can be made in words. There has probably never been in the annals of mankind any other character so difficult to understand and to represent as that of Lincoln — (a commonplace remark! — because it is so true). When his story is truly told it seems impossible to join the two sections of his life into one united whole. In the period preceding the Lincoln-Douglas debates, he seems one man; in the years following those debates he seems absolutely another. The study of the earlier period would be altogether uninteresting unless it were suddenly to unfold into the second period. But since it does so unfold it is of surpassing interest. Thus the tale of these antecedent years is a complete whole in itself, and most fortunate it is that Mr. Beveridge has so far finished it that it can be published as such. True it is that it is only a part of a whole; but as a part it is perfect in itself. It covers all that portion of Mr. Lincoln's life which is liable to be the subject of fanciful colouring and misrepresentation. All the great events which followed in his later life are the property of all historians, and may be fairly well told by any of them — not so well, perhaps, as they would have been told by Mr. Beveridge — but well enough. On the other hand, what he

has given to history could never by any possibility have been written by any other hand. In these chapters he has happily saved Lincoln from two lamentable possibilities: First, those falsifications which, in reaction against excessive praise, set forth debasing falsehoods as being real truth (we have lately seen Washington made the victim of such vile treatment), and on the other hand, the foolish daubing perpetrated by Fourth-of-July orators and Sunday-school teachers. We have the straightforward, masculine truth, told so that it can never hereafter be tampered with. For so much at least let the world and especially posterity be thankful, while submitting to the inevitable fatality which has made it impossible for the same master-hand to draw the second part. How splendidly that task would have been done! How grievous, how irreparable is the loss! Therefore it is no rhetorical exaggeration to say, as I said at the outset, that this untimely death of Mr. Beveridge well-nigh takes on the magnitude of a national calamity.

The President announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance Committee: FRANCIS R. HART, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, and HAROLD MURDOCK.

Library Committee: LAWRENCE S. MAYO, ALBERT MATTHEWS, and CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

House Committee: Dr. JOHN W. FARLOW, FREDERIC WINTHROP, and WILLIAM B. H. DOWSE.

Committee of Publication: GEORGE F. MOORE, CHESTER N. GREENOUGH, HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, GARDNER W. ALLEN, and WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

It was voted: That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended on such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Mr. CHARLES WARREN read a paper on

SAMUEL ADAMS AND THE SANS SOUCI CLUB IN 1785

In the early months of 1785, there raged in Boston a teapot tempest caused by the Sans Souci Club. An unpublished let-

ter of my ancestress, Mrs. Mercy Warren, written to her son, George, March 7, 1785, brings into the light of today this forgotten minor episode in Massachusetts history — an episode which, while intrinsically trivial, affords striking illumination on the social and political conditions prevailing in the years of transition between the Revolutionary War and the foundation of the National Government, conditions giving rise to the first genuine political parties in this Commonwealth.

It is well known that, during the War and especially after its close, those men who had been most closely associated with the early Revolutionary movement were extremely apprehensive, and even despondent, over the rapid increase in luxury of living, of extravagant expenditures, and of freedom of manners.[1] As early as 1778, Elbridge Gerry wrote to General James Warren that it was to be expected that "in time of a Revolution like the present, necessarily producing an entire change, . . . morals of the people will be greatly injured." And Mrs. Mercy Warren wrote to John Adams, that "a state of war has ever been deemed unfriendly to virtue; but such a total change of manners in so short a period, I believe, was never known in the history of man." In the same year, General Warren wrote to Samuel Adams that "all manner of extravagance prevails here in dress, furniture, equipage and living, amidst the distress of the public and multitudes of individuals. How long the manners of this people will be uncorrupted and fit to enjoy that liberty that you have long contended for, I know not." And later, he wrote that "assemblies, gaming and the fashionable amusements engage the genteel people." During the year, 1779, Adams wrote to Warren of "that inundation of levity, vanity, luxury, dissipation, and, indeed, vice of every kind, which, I am informed, threatens that country." George Washington himself deplored the fact that "stockjobbing, speculation, dissipation, luxury and venality, with all their concomitants, are too deeply rooted to yield to virtue and the public good." Mrs. Warren wrote to

[1] *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 54, 64, 59, 82, 65; Gerry to Warren, Nov. 8, 1778; Mrs. Warren to J. Adams, Oct. 15, 1778; Warren to S. Adams, Oct. 25, Dec. 16, 1778; see also S. Adams to Warren, Nov. 9, 1778. *Writings of Samuel Adams* (1908), IV. 123, 236; Adams to Warren, Feb. 12, 1779; Adams to John Scollay, Dec. 30, 1780. *Writings of George Washington* (Ford's ed.), VIII. 119, Washington to Howe, Nov. 20, 1779.

John Adams that though "the spirit of party has entered into all our Departments" and "the votaries of pleasure . . . make no inconsiderable figure," yet "the old Republicans (a solitary few) with decent solemnity and confidence still persevere, their hands unstained by bribes, though poverty stares them in the face, their hearts unshaken by the levity, the luxury, the caprice or whim, the folly or ingratitude of the times." And John Adams replied that "the follies and frivolities of our countrymen are too serious to be ridiculous;" and that we should "deplore that spirit of dissipation, vanity and knavery, which infects so many Americans and threatens to ruin our manners and liberties, in imitation of the old world."

After the war was over, General Warren wrote to John Adams, in 1785: "Money is the only object attended to, and the only acquisition that commands respect. Patriotism is ridiculed; integrity and ability are of little consequence. . . . Luxury keeps pace with the manners of older and more affluent countries." And to Elbridge Gerry, he wrote: "This country seems to be in danger of ruin, which nothing can prevent but a reformation of manners and an establishment of frugality in the room of that general profusion which has prevailed." In the same year, 1785, Samuel Adams wrote to John Adams that too many of the citizens through the Commonwealth "are imitating the Britons in every idle amusement and expensive foppery which it is in their power to invent for the destruction of a young country. Can our people expect to indulge themselves in the unbounded use of every unmeaning and fantastick extravagance because they would follow the lead of Europeans, and not spend all their money? You would be surprised to see the equipage, the furniture, and expensive living of too many, the pride and vanity of dress which pervades thro' every class, confounding every distinction between the poor and the rich, and evincing the want both of example and economy." [2]

[2] *Warren-Adams Letters,* II. 113, 145, 119, 186, 248; Mrs. Warren to J. Adams, July 29, 1779, Nov. 15, 1780; J. Adams to Mrs. Warren, Sept. 1779, Dec. 9, 1780, Dec. 15, 1782; Warren to J. Adams, Jan. 28, 1785; Austin, *Life of Elbridge Gerry,* 470, Warren to Gerry, Jan. 11, 1785; *Writings of Samuel Adams,* IV. 315, Adams to J. Adams, July 2, 1785.

See also letter of "Senex" in *Boston Gazette,* May 6, 1782: "My dear countrymen, — I greatly lament our adopting the gaudy mode and trappings

A writer in the *Boston Gazette,* amusingly depicted the changed conditions as follows:

. . . Are not our mushroom gentry, in conjunction with those from the other side of the atlantic, introducing every species of foreign luxuries, not only in dress, but at their tables? How is the course of nature changed! . . . How did we execrate the custom introduced by the Commissioners, of dining at Three o'clock afternoon? But is it not the *Bon Ton* to rise at 10 — breakfast at 11 — and dine at 4 o'clock or later, and the hour for breaking up an evening visit at midnight, rattling through our paved streets in their carriages to the great annoyance of the peaceful inhabitants; especially the *sick* and *dying?* How are our worthy patriots treated? Men who risked their lives and property, in the cause of freedom — lent their hard money to assist in the contest, and took securities or paper money for it, which now lie dormant in their desks, and they obliged to pay specie for debts due to a set of vultures, who are now permitted to return. . . . The complaints and Petitions of these *once valuable men,* treated with ineffable contempt, and others with the blackest Ingratitude, held up in polite assemblies as *rigid republicans,* men of contracted minds, only because they will not conform to gaming, sabbath breaking, drinking and every other vice practiced by persons of (what is called) the bon ton.[3]

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of the English and French dress, so expensive, so heedless, so shameful, in this day of sore calamity, when common sense, common safety, and interest calls aloud for that extravagant expense be applied to the support and maintenance of a respectable army, so necessary for our protection."

[3] *Boston Gazette,* Jan. 24, 1785; see also *Boston Gazette,* Feb. 28, 1785, for an amusing and extravagant complaint as to current manners: "A correspondent who declares himself a friend to the fair sex is sorry to find that the present rage for sleighing, or the love of frivolous gaiety and amusement, should induce so many of the tender daughters of Columbia to sacrifice hours to dissipation, which should be devoted to the cultivation of those numerous graces and accomplishments peculiar to the softest, sweetest part of the creation, and which give them such an irresistible sway over the heart of man. Wherever virtue is most liable to destruction, there should the fair least be seen; this is suggested, says our correspondent, by the impropriety of several ladies being out upon those parties at the most unseasonable hours with young men who would esteem it a merit to take an advantage of unguarded innocence, and a still greater boast of the completion of their ungenerous and unmanly schemes."

And see also articles on the luxury of living, and dissolute entertainments in *Independent Chronicle,* July 7, 1785; *American Herald,* March 6, May 16, 1785; The *Pennsylvania Packet,* June 8, 1784, referred to the extravagance of the day as "demonstrated in the broadcloth coats and silk gowns, the powder and feathers, the ruffles and cardinals, the silk stockings and feet trappings — in the feasts, dancing parties, and select companies."

It was amidst a community in which similar strong views as to the degeneration of manners and departure from the simplicity of true republican life were held by many men that the Sans Souci Club arose as an issue, both moral and political.

For many years, the only lawful form of public entertainment in Boston other than lectures, had been an Assembly, held once a fortnight in Concert Hall, for dancing only, and, as it was said, "to beguile the tedious evenings of December and to cheat rough winter of some of its horrors." In the winter of 1784–85, there was started another institution called the "Tea Assembly," or, as its subscription paper termed it, the "Sans Souci Club," at which both card playing and dancing were indulged in. Each male subscriber received one ticket for himself and two for ladies. The hall was to close promptly at midnight. There were twenty card tables; at which no bet over one quarter of a dollar was to be allowed; tea, coffee and chocolate were served free, and wine, negus, punch and lemonade on payment.[4]

There were men in Boston who saw in this Club merely another instance of the degeneracy and increasing dissipation of the times. It must not be encouraged. Accordingly, in the *Massachusetts Centinel* of January 15, 1785, a writer under the name of "Observer" (who had been contributing to that paper a series of articles on social and political topics) launched a savage attack upon this apparently harmless institution, in the following language:

If there ever was a period wherein reason was bewildered, and stupified by dissipation and extravagance, it is surely the present. Did ever effiminacy with her languid train, receive a greater welcome in society than at this day. New amusements are invented — new dissipations are introduced, to lull and enervate those minds already too much softened, poisoned and contaminated by idle pleasures, and foolish gratifications. We are exchanging prudence, virtue and economy, for those glaring spectres luxury, prodigality and profligacy. We are prostituting all our glory as a people, for new modes of pleasure, ruinous in their expences, injurious to virtue, and totally detrimental to the well being of society.

Did we consult the history of Athens and Rome, we should find that so long as they continued their frugality and simplicity of man-

[4] *Massachusetts Centinel*, Jan. 22, 26, 28, 1785.

ners, they shone with superlative glory; but no sooner were effeminate refinements introduced amongst them, than they visibly fell from whatever was elevated and magnanimous, and became feeble and timid, dependent, slavish and false. . . . Say, my country. Why do you thus suffer all the intemperances of Great-Britain to be fostered in our bosom, in all their vile luxuriance? Now is the time to prune the branches, 'ere they shoot forth into a strength which cannot be subdued; — 'ere the poppy — Pleasure, has too far lulled reason asleep, or the poison of dissipation has choaked even the latent spark of virtue. . . . Suitable recreations, such as do not glaringly tend to levity of behaviour — to the introduction of gaming, and in short to the destruction of every thing good or virtuous — the cares, the fatigues of the world require. Rational amusements it would certainly be irrational to deny: — But an Assembly, so totally repugnant to virtue, as in its very name (*Sans Souci*, or *free and easy*) to banish the idea by throwing aside every necessary restraint — those being esteemed the politest, who are the most careless! — and the most genteel and accomplished, who can, like the figures at a masquerade, mix in each scene, however devoid of delicacy, it is therefore to be hoped the citizens of a free republick, will unanimously exert themselves to give a check to so injurious an institution.[5]

"Observer" then indulged himself in an exhortation which was interpreted as a call to the use of force in the suppression of the Club; for he said, referring to the fact that a Tea Assembly instituted in New York by leading Tory members of society had been broken up by the populace with violence:

You who were foremost in defence of your liberties, and whose public virtues, have raised the standard of freedom on a once wild uncultivated land! Let not your names which would be otherwise handed as virtuous, brave and good, to ages yet unborn, be thus shaded with infamy. Be not behind your sister States in extirpating vice, however marked with the epithet of polite.[6]

This article by "Observer" seems a very ponderous attack on a very trivial object; but it had a pronounced effect,

[5] *Massachusetts Centinel*, Jan. 15, 1785, letter of "Observer" No. VII; see also *ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1785, letter of "Moderator," addressed "To the Opulent and Luxurious."

[6] See *Massachusetts Spy*, Jan. 27, 1785: "When the Tea Assembly was introduced at New York, the populace were so enraged they went in a body, burst open the doors, threw water on the floor, and obliged them to break up."

largely owing to the general popular belief that its author was Samuel Adams. (It is not certain that Adams was, in fact, the author, but contemporary allusions all point that way.) It is improbable, however, that either the author or the public ever expected such a repercussion as followed the publication of the letter. Two days later, there appeared in the *Massachusetts Centinel* three letters savagely attacking "Observer." The most extravagant of these writers signed himself "Sans Souci." [7] It was never publicly admitted at the time; but it now appears, from the unpublished letter of Mrs. Mercy Warren, that "Sans Souci" was Harrison Gray Otis, then a young man of about twenty years of age.[8]

At the outset of his first article, Otis said that "Observer" had "obtruded sentiments upon the publick which must excite the indignation and abhorrence of every virtuous citizen," and that the members of the little Society, "so peculiarly the object of his malevolence," must "repel his invidious suggestions." Further, he said, "the members of the community at large are bound by the more sacred league of patriotism, to unveil the danger of his principles, to expose their seditious tendency, and to stamp them with a common and indelible seal of infamy. This flaming Tribune of the people," he declared, had gone further than any of the "host of scribblers since the revolution;" he had "asserted the expediency of a popular insurrection, advised his fellow citizens to take arms," and had exhibited the conduct of New York as a precedent. "So daring and detestable an attempt to establish the government of a mob has not been made in this capital since the downfal of the 'Colsonian faction.'" He proceeded to characterize "Observer" as "a baleful comet," a "son of sedition." To "Observer's" citation of Rome and Greece as dire examples, he deplored the "general application of the Greek and Roman

[7] *Massachusetts Centinel,* Jan. 19, 1785.

[8] Mrs. Warren in this letter to George Warren, March 7, 1785, wrote: "It is said H. G. O. is the author of the pieces signed *Sans Souci* — very severe they are. I love young people should be early in the exercise of their talents at composition, late in wielding the weapons of satire, unless the interests of virtue and their country require it. He is a youth of genius and fire, and I hope he will always have self command to temper discretion with wit; but he is very angry at an attack on a lady he so much respects as he does your affectionate mother."

stories to every casual occurrence," and said that " Observer " ought to be informed that " the restless intrigues of disappointed ambition, and the seditious speeches of their popular leaders, produced more important calamities in those Republics," than had pernicious luxury. After further sarcasm as to " Observer's " remarks, he concluded by saying that " the subscribers of the Tea assembly will never suffer this Observer to enjoy the malicious pleasure of obstructing their innocent amusement," and that " decorum will continue to preside . . . while the Observer in some sequestered corner, broods over the virtues of the ancient Republics, and pines upon the contemplation of pleasures which he is not qualified to enjoy."

In the same issue of the *Centinel,* a writer signing himself " One of a Number " attacked " Observer " as having " set himself up as Censor of the age," and as having advised the use of violence and proposing " to one part of the inhabitants to embroil themselves with the other — to endeavor to break the amiable bands of harmony and friendship, and to blow up the dire flames of discord and fanaticism, perhaps to embrue their hands in each other's blood." He accused " Observer " of encouraging " the spirit of faction once more to rage among us." As for Greece and Rome, he said that " while we boast of a Washington, and many other truly virtuous men, I cannot think the ancients were more deserving than the present age, nor can I think that you would wish us to exchange our amusement for those of Rome," such as gladiatorial combats. He said that to expect to separate commerce from luxury was an impossibility; and finally he advised " every one who cries shame upon the manners of the times, to begin with correcting his own."

A third writer under the signature of " A Bostonian " also dashed into the field, with a slashing assault, saying that " he whose malignancy of heart fabricates falsehoods to answer his pernicious purposes, is, both in the view of men and Angels, a detestable villain. Within both these descriptions of character . . . you are included." He said that the complexion given by " Observer " to the Tea Assembly was due to the " jaundiced eyes of your envy and malice " and that in truth and candour, it was " a company, regulated with propriety, governed by decency, and observant of the nicest and most

scrupulous laws of delicacy. A company whose whole deportment bespeaks purity of mind and manners in the highest degree — evinces such a portion of republican virtue as places the inhabitants of this town (here beheld) on a par with the most celebrated either of Sparta or Lacedaemon."

The next day, in the *Independent Chronicle*, a fourth writer, signing himself "Crito," leapt forward in defence of the Sans Souci, and accused "Observer" of "malignancy" and of "violent assertions with the base purposes of misleading," and of being "a malicious incendiary." He stated that "pedantic reference to Greek and Roman manners is totally inapplicable to an American Commonwealth." As to the Sans Souci, he said that it was "a very harmless meeting, decent even to dullness," a "laudable institution." As to the opponents of the Sans Souci, he said that there were "some beings in all communities who are cursed with such a callousness of fibre that no refinements can move them; who consider all improvements as innovations on the principles of their grandfathers, and that all those who wish to be either wiser or happier than their ancestors are heretical upstarts and degenerate citizens." And he concluded with the following hit, stating that "last summer when a few American oaks were set out on the sides of the Mall, a miserable 'Observer' remarked that the Common had for a hundred years served people very well to walk on without any expense, that the money then expending was useless and anti-republican, and that he could plainly trace in that luxurious walk (only a little well-cemented gravel), the outlines of their country's ruin." [9]

To these assaults, "Observer" replied in two letters. He said that he noted that gentlemen of nineteen and ladies of fifteen were admitted to the hall of the Sans Souci without parents or guardians, which seemed to him quite improper unless they were proof against every temptation. As to heads of families, the Club was "pregnant with fatal consequences . . . leading the way to vice, and setting a publick example by their appearance at the gaming table. . . . Those who play frequently get an itch for it, and although they may begin small, will play more largely as they are more attached to it." As to all his opponents he stated that he could not "help applying

[9] *Independent Chronicle*, Jan. 20, 1785.

to them the following expression of Calvin: 'I KNOW BY THEIR ROARING I HAVE HIT THEM RIGHT.'" [10]

Three writers came to the aid of "Observer" in the *American Herald*. "Nestor Ironside" said that "empires have been sunk by the sons of pleasure and dissipation. This will finally be our history." "Mediator" wrote that "Observer" ought to receive the applause of the world, altho his advocacy of force was to be censured, and said that: "It is a melancholly truth, that we are fostering in our bosoms the vices of a country, now degenerating by its folly, and although the Sans Souci may be considered but a fatus [fœtus] in miniature, yet if nursed and cherished, will quickly grow to a monster of an hideous form." [11]

A writer under the name of "Slam Bang" said that "the town seems to be in a terrible rage, about the Sans Souci." While calling "Observer" rash in his attack, he commented with keen sarcasm on the defenders of the Club. And he summed up by saying his notion was that "man was born to eat cakes and drink negus, to dance, laugh, sing, and play cards; and if he was not born to live so, the Lord knows what he was born for."

Two days later, "Cato," in a letter in the *Massachusetts Centinel* addressed to "the Sans Souci Triumvirate," supported "Observer's" position, and stated that the Sans Souci undoubtedly tended to gaming, and that it was "servilely copying the vices of degraded Britain." Another wrong step, he said, was the admission of youth of nineteen, "because their passions are warm, their ambitions great and their pride

[10] *Massachusetts Centinel,* Jan. 22, 29, 1785, letter of "Observer No. VIII, No. IX."

See also *Massachusetts Centinel,* Jan. 26, 1785, letter of "Son of Candour," defending the Sans Souci as no different from the Assembly which for years past had been held at Concert Hall and which had been supposed to be "very useful in polishing the manners and promoting harmony and social intercourse in the town."

[11] *American Herald,* Jan. 24, 1785. The letter of "Nestor Ironside" began: "I neither preach sermons nor write Farces. I am neither mad with republicanism, or in the wild pursuit of dissipation. . . . The Observer is severe, Crito is angry, but their feelings, or mine, are no more to the present question, than it is whether Crito goes through the gravel-walk or over beacon-hill to thrust his dagger into the Observer's back. You will judge, whether this is the time, and the state of our young Republic, to institute these public amusements." See also *ibid.*, letter of "Mediator," and letter of "Slam Bang."

will not allow them to be curbed by the sum allowed to be played for." [12]

Harrison Gray Otis, on the other hand, under the name of "Sans Souci," retorted to "Observer's" last production by publishing a long satirical epitaph, composed in memory of "the hapless Observer who, prompted by the delusive hope of attaining a literary reputation which he never merited, and misguided by opinions which he never digested, incautiously ventured to arraign an institution the principles of which he did not understand." [12]

A new writer, under the name of "Candidus" in the *Independent Chronicle* (probably Benjamin Austin, Jr.), then came to the aid of "Observer," whom he evidently identified with Samuel Adams.[13] He stated that he felt that the Tea Assembly was "at this particular crisis considered by a very respectable MAJORITY of the community, as a very *dangerous* and *destructive institution,*" which, though not "unexceptionable in the long established Courts of *Europe,* may, by being *early introduced* among the *infant States of America,* be attended with the most fatal consequences." He urged that the honor, reputation, credit and security of these States depended on "strict observance of those *republican principles* which gave us our INDEPENDENT STATION." He pointed out that a public amusement like the Sans Souci might, in a Republican Government "when all the individuals of a State are so nearly on an *equality,*" lead each "to partake of these entertainments from *fashionable motives,*" to keep up public appearance and pursue the amusement, tho' inevitably to the ruin of their fortunes and family.

He argued that:

> A *publick institution,* where is practiced *card playing,* is *more likely* to introduce YOUTH and others to the practice of *gaming,* than merely the common herding of a few *despicable characters* over a bottle at a *Tavern* or *Coffee-House.* . . . All *introductions* to vice must be first gilded with the glittering outside of *fashion.* . . . I suppose this town never has been so free from the vice of gaming as at this day; particularly among the youth at public houses; none

[12] *Massachusetts Centinel,* Jan. 26, 1785, letter of "Cato"; epitaph by "Sans Souci."

[13] *Independent Chronicle,* Jan. 27, 1785.

but the lowest characters now meet for this purpose, so but very little mischief is to be dreaded from this quarter: But when *card playing* is instituted as a *public amusement;* when the parade of the card rooms are heightened by the *politeness* and *gentility* of the assembly, and when all around wear the pleasing countenance of *pleasure;* these are allurements *too powerful* to be viewed with indifference, and the gentlemen of the society pay but a *poor compliment* to themselves, if they think that all this *etiquette* and *stile* are not *more inticing,* than an evening spent in a *back chamber* of a tavern, among a group of wretches as despicable in their *characters* as their PRACTICE is destructive.

As to the argument that commerce must inevitably introduce luxury and fine arts, he stated that the present time was inappropriate to urge it:

We are too sensible of the embarassments of our trade; the great difficulty we find in discharging our arrears in Europe; how perplex'd we are to fulfil our engagements even among ourselves; the general complaint of our want of cash; the low profits of merchandize; the slowness of sales; and on the other hand the largeness of our debts; the demands of our creditors; the interest daily increasing.

Another writer under the punning name "Sans Six Sous" also sprang forth to defend Samuel Adams, although apparently doubting whether Adams was the author of the papers signed "Observer." He said that "among the first symptoms, of a depravity of manners, is *youth* treating *old men* with disrespect," and that the attacks on that venerable man were improper and indecent. Incidentally it may be noted that the "venerable man" was only sixty-two years old. He termed Adams "an ever-waking Centinel who, knowing the enemy we have most reason to fear, was always on duty, and ready to give the alarm when the devouring monster appeared." The writer then burst into apostrophe against those youths who had assailed "Observer":

Illustrious Watchman! . . . shall *Children* mock thee and say, "Go UP THOU BALDHEAD!" . . . Unhappy country! gloomy prospect where the *youth* reviling an *old Senator* call him CATO by way of reproach! . . . Hold thy peace, forward youth, nor profane his name; . . . Do you recollect, Gentlemen, that this is *one* of those

very men whom the KING OF ENGLAND has most reason to hate? — What situation would your parents have been in, were it not for him, and a few like him? . . . Most of you, instead of being SANS SOUCI would be.

SANS SIX SOUS.

As to the correctness of "Observer's" charges, he said that:

. . . They who have seen other countries do not hesitate to assert that the *Bostonians*, all things considered, are at present the most luxurious people they have seen. As luxury begins to deface this beautiful *Temple of the laws*, and sooner or later will lay this envied structure in the dust, of the *thirteen* pillars which support its sacred structure, O may not *that* on which MASSACHUSETTS is written, be the first to moulder and fall! [14]

Harrison Gray Otis, again writing under the name of "Sans Souci" apparently resented these remarks about a "forward youth" and proceeded to castigate their author "the Doctor," in whose "execrable witticism" or "play of words," Otis wrote, he recognized "the puerile genius of the L[e]yd[e]n scholar. . . . After his essay upon 'Animal Respiration' has been hissed from the stage and his vindication of Dr. F——l [15] has been everywhere derided, to risque anew the public scorn is quixotism in the extreme." Otis then expressed his "disgust for the pedant whose chagrin for his unsuccessful practice incident to his cloistered mode of life was shown by the shrug of the shoulders and his sagacious scowl;" and Otis continued: "The heinous imputation of being a youth I am willing to bear, and wish the Doctor for his own sake could furnish the same apology." Not content with this, Otis contributed to the *American Herald* an anonymous satirical account of a fictitious duel between "Sans Souci" and "Doctor Sans Six Sous," in which he accused the latter of having a "*small, soft,* brain" and no soul. The Doctor, thus referred to, was Dr.

[14] *American Herald,* Feb. 7, 1785.

[15] Perhaps John Fothergill (1712–1780), with whom Dr. Waterhouse had studied and whose name had come to notice in connection with a eulogium pronounced before the Royal Society of Medicine in Paris, and with a scheme for raising a fund of £300,000, to be used in sending missionaries to Africa to instruct the natives in the cultivation of the sugar-cane, a scheme proposed by Fothergill. *American Herald,* Jan. 10, 1785.

Benjamin Waterhouse, then Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic at Harvard College.

Otis was rash in thus returning to the affray; for he brought into the field four savage opponents; and the contest became one of scurrility and personal abuse.[16] "Thoughtful" in the *Exchange Advertiser* termed Otis an "arrogant stripling" with an "extravagant opinion of his own merit," and "pompous ostentation." He said that the attack on the "L-yd-n scholar" was "unnecessary, illiberal and abusive" and that the "Observer's" time was "too precious to be lavished in managing '*a paper conflict with a boy,*' ribald, rude and cunning — a forward child" who needed reformation. "Considerative," in the *Massachusetts Centinel,* termed Otis "a vain youth," with a "matchless impudence of face. . . . How surprisingly injudicious art thou, thou idol set up by thyself to be worshipped, in boasting to have wrote as a scholar and a gentleman." He said that Otis's attack on the "Doctor" "would raise a blush on the hardiest son of Billingsgate." He stated that Otis's defenders had been "dragged from the filth of a kennel." "Sans Ceremonie," also in *Massachusetts Centinel,* dealt with him with powerful sarcasm. He referred to the "sublimity of your epitaph on Observer. Candidus got off with a few back-handed strokes. Tattered Poet galloped away. Poor Doctor was caught. . . . Your High Mightiness, be merciful. Drive with your lash. Receive the title of champion of Literature." To this writer, Otis replied that he had "reduced buffoonery to a system," that he had acquired great proficiency in "the dialect of the stable, whether

[16] *Massachusetts Centinel,* Feb. 9, 1785, letter of "Sans Souci" in which he refers to the Observer; the Poet and the Doctor, "all united against one poor youth." See also *American Herald,* Feb. 14, 1785, for the unsigned article in which Otis termed the Doctor "a distinguished member of the *corps diplomatique,*" and wrote of the Doctor's "pertinacity in scribbling" and that: "we hear with pleasure that to prevent his professorship being intirely useless to the University, his friends have determined to present his brain to the college as a natural curiosity."

In *Massachusetts Centinel,* Feb. 12, 1785, "Sans Six Sous" wrote informing "him whom it most concerns [*i.e.,* Otis] that he knew not who wrote any of those papers against the OBSERVER, — by the pro's and con's, as well as by other marks not easily mistaken, he was convinced they were productions of Youth. . . . It was the style of youth towards old age, that he reprobated — Had he fixed his eye on any particular person, he would have omitted four words, but no more. . . . All personalities are beneath him."

contracted from the postillions of France and England, or cultivated in his own counting room." Otis now states that he "withdraws from the controversy and I may surely felicitate myself upon this new occasion of retiring without disgrace."

Otis elicited only one defender — "A Foe to Envy," who exceeded everyone in extravagant language against the opponents of "Sans Souci," terming them "the combined powers of insolence, malice, ill-nature, satire, lampoon, and personal abuse . . . and lunatic virulence." He stated that "Sans Souci" had answered "Observer" in "a manly, spirited, correct and unexceptionable performance," and bade him not dread "the shafts of malice, nor fear the invenomed influence of envy."[17]

Meanwhile, this tempest in a teapot had been reinforced by a petty whirlwind from another direction. The *Centinel* had published an advertisement of the forthcoming publication of a "new farce" entitled *Sans Souci, alias, Free and Easy: — Or, an Evening's Peep in a Polite Circle. An entirely new entertainment, in three Acts.*[18] Immediately, threats of personal

[17] *Exchange Advertiser,* Feb. 17, 1785, letter of "Thoughtful"; *ibid.,* Feb. 24, 1785, answer to "Thoughtful" by "Sans Souci"; *ibid.,* Feb. 24, 1785, letter of "A Foe to Envy"; *Massachusetts Centinel,* March 2, 1785, letter of "Considerative" to "Sans Souci"; *Exchange Advertiser,* March 3, 1785, letter of "Thoughtful" replying to "A Foe to Envy." *Ibid.,* March 3, 1785, letter of "Admiration" addressed "To Mr. Sans Souci alias A Foe to Envy." *Massachusetts Centinel,* Feb. 12, 1785, letter of "Sans Ceremonie to Sans Souci"; *ibid.,* Feb. 16, 1785, reply of "Sans Souci"; *ibid.,* Feb. 19, 1785; retort of "Sans Ceremonie to Mr. Sans Souci," in which he says to Otis that he is "sorry you should have so *quite* contemptible an opinion of your ABILITIES, *that praising your performances,* you should PUBLICKLY declare was '*reducing* BUFFOONRY *to a system.*' Farewell." *Exchange Advertiser,* March 10, 1785, letter of "Astonishment" addressed "To Mr. Sans Ceremonie, alias, Admiration."

[18] *Massachusetts Centinel,* Jan. 15, 1785. The advertisement in full was as follows: "A new Farce. On Monday morning next will be published. SANS Souci, alias, Free and Easy: — Or, An Evening's Peep into a polite Circle. An entire new Entertainment, in Three Acts. The above publication is designed more to represent what is likely to take place, from the institution of the late Assembly held at C——t H—ll, designated by the above appellation, than what has hitherto existed. The characters exhibited, and the circumstances mentioned, are mostly imaginary, and are intended rather to satirize the measure, than to point at particular persons: However, as all publications of this nature, cannot but fall in some degree on *certain characters,* if this should be considered as too pointed, on any individuals, the author can only plead the apology, that he is sorry the portrait could not be softened down to a more agreeable likeness."

violence were made against the publishers, Warden & Russell, who were also editors of the *Centinel*, if they should insist on publishing this farce, and an actual assault was attempted. Warden & Russell replied, editorially, calling attention to these threats as an attempted infringement of the liberty of the press. They said that they decided to publish the farce, since it appeared "only intended to display the dangerous tendency of that society [the Sans Souci] and not the vehicle of personal abuse (as has been too common)." And they said: [19]

This roused the passions of those who conceived themselves deserving the lash of satire, and urged them to endeavour to suppress it in embryo. A variety of injuries was threatened us, if we persisted in our determination of publishing it. In the afternoon of Saturday we were waited upon by Mr. Samuel Jarvis, who desired to speak with one of us in another apartment, being attended thither he demanded to know whether or not we intended publishing '*A Farce,*' and being answered in the affirmative, exclaimed, "*By God, I'll kill you if you do,*" and *endeavored* to put his threat into execution but found his efforts inadequate to the task.

To the publick we leave it to make what comments they please, on this high-handed affair. . . . We return our thanks for the assistance that has been offered us by several patriotick gentlemen. They may depend, that avoiding personal scurrility and local scandal, we are determined our PRESS SHALL EVER BE FREE.

The motto we have adopted of being '*Uninfluenced by party,* etc.' shall be strictly adhered to; and while we keep within the limits prescribed by the laws of our country, the threats of sanguinary assassins, will ever be considered as impotent and innoxious.

WARDEN & RUSSELL.

The episode was taken up by editors of other newspapers who treated it also as an attack upon the liberty of the Press. The *Boston Gazette* said:

☞The Attack made upon the Printers of the *Centinel* on Saturday last, by a number of *well-known* Persons, ought to excite the serious

[19] *Massachusetts Centinel,* Jan. 19, 1785. See also advertisement in *American Herald,* Jan. 17, 1785: "Notwithstanding the Assault Committed upon us on Saturday, The Sans Souci, etc. Is ready for Sale. WARDEN & RUSSELL. Printing-Office, South Side State-House."

Attention of all those who duly regard that Bulwark of our Liberties, *The Freedom of the PRESS*. If a Printer, for advertising that he intends to publish a certain Book for the Information or merely the Amusement or innocent Diversion of his Fellow Citizens, is to be beset and abused by a Set of Club-men, because the Title-Page does not happen to hit *their* Taste, we may take a farewell of our Independence which we have gloriously obtained, not without great Expense of our Treasure, and the Loss of some of our best Blood. A Wound in so tender a Point must surely prove fatal! Should the Government appoint Licencers of the Press, it would give just Cause of Offense. What Right then has any Set of Men to forbid the Printing a Book until it has had *their* Imprimatur, or to punish a Printer with Club Law, for Advertising it? The Institution of an Assembly under the Name of *Sans Souci*, or *Free and Easy*, has raised the Apprehensions as well as Curiosity of many Men of sober Sentiments in this Community, and such a Manner of defending it does not tend to diminish their Apprehensions. — But since this Mode has been taken for its Defense, it concerns the PUBLICK to inquire into its Nature and Design; — that if it be innocent it may have the common Protection; but if tends to promote GAMING, IDLENESS, and DISSIPATION, it may be, as it ought, discountenanced and *suppressed*." [20]

And the *Massachusetts Spy* said:

Some advocate for this "decent circle" very unjudicially commenced an indecent attack on the printers and thereby made a matter of consequence what otherwise would hardly have been known out of the limits of Boston. The Freedom of the Press is certainly the great Bulwark of the Liberties of the People. . . . Mr. Observer, in common with every citizen, had a right to communicate his sentiments to the publick. If they were wrong, they would have been condemned. If they were just, they would meet with no more attention than they deserved. . . .[21]

The result of these personal assaults and editorial defence of freedom of the Press was, of course, to give to the new farce a rapid and heavy sale, upon its appearance, and it ran through two editions. Today, copies are rare, but may be found in the libraries of Harvard College, the Boston Athenæum, and the American Antiquarian Society. In the copies possessed by the latter two, identification of some of the characters of the farce has been made in handwriting.

[20] *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1785. [21] *Massachusetts Spy*, Jan. 27, 1785.

This farce was really a dull and tedious affair, with no dramatic action, and consisted simply of a series of satirical conversations.

In Act One, Scene One, Young Forward (Edward Sohier) and Mr. Pert (Isaac Winslow, Jr.) " damn the old musty rules of decency and national character, Spartan virtues — republican principles — all your buckram of Presbyterianism," and rejoice at being able to join in the brilliance of the Club surroundings. In the second scene, Madam Importance (Mrs. Perez Morton, formerly Sarah Wentworth Apthorp) ascribes to Madam Brilliant (Mrs. James Swan) the necessity of the brilliant dresses as " the most effectual means to establish a precedency — we have for a long while been too much on a level," and praises having reservations of card tables as " distinctions in all companies are necessary." In Scene Three, Jemmy Satirist (A. Hughs), Mr. Importance (Perez Morton), and Dr. Gallant (Dr. Smith), discuss the fact that the lawyers, the gentlemen of the blackrobe, are to establish the etiquette of the card tables and the beau monde, and that professional characters must be supported with dignity and parade, " otherways, all distinctions will be lost in the levelling spirit of republicanism." [22]

The first scene of Act Two is a conversation between Mrs. W——n (Mrs. Mercy Warren) and " The Republican Her-

[22] The lists of names differ in the two copies and are here compared:

Characters	*Athenæum*	*Am. Antiquarian*
Mr. Importance	[Perez] Morton	[Perez] Morton
Jemmy Satirist	The young man that you have seen at London	Hughs, A.
Doctor Gallant	Smith	Dr. Smith
Mr. Bon Ton	Cutler	Oli: Bruster
Young Forward	Sohier	[H. G.] Otis
Little Pert	Winslow	Isaac Winslow
Mad. Importance	Morton	Mrs. [James] Swan
Brilliant	Swan	Hitchburn
Republican Heroine	——	Mal
Mrs. W——n.	——	——

Unfortunately the American Antiquarian copy was much cut down by the binder and words of manuscript were destroyed. It had belonged to A. Duncan.

oine" (who was evidently intended for Mrs. Catharine Macaulay Graham, then a visitor in Boston and of the Club). Mrs. Graham states she "could hardly refrain from tears when I entered the Hall to see the respectable inhabitants of this metropolis so wantonly introducing a custom of public card playing, even at so early a period after the war;" that she had expected to find here a cultivation of other manners, and not "British gew-gaws, etiquette and parade." To which, Mrs. Warren is made to reply:

I am very unhappy to find your observations are so just. I cannot but acknowledge we have too far copied the vices of that nation which we have so lately opposed. But, however, I do not think this late entertainment will be long continued; there are many respectable characters among them, who I am persuaded, when they consider the dangerous tendency of this Assembly will readily discountenance it. We must be convinced how dangerous to the morals of youth — how destructive to the happiness of families and individuals an introduction of card parties has been.

In Scene two, Young Forward and Little Pert (Sohier and Winslow) state that all copies of *Hoyle on Whist* have been bought up in Boston; that the present game, as played at so low stakes, is a mere burlesque; that the card party is at least useful as a step towards obtaining a theatre and possibly even towards Evening Lectures on Love by the celebrated Doctor Graham.

In the first scene of Act Three, the gentlemen deliver a panegyric on the ladies of the Assembly and the grace of their dancing. Then they discuss the new book by Dr. Richard Price, just published, entitled *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution.*[23] Mr. Importance (Morton)

[23] See advertisement in *American Herald,* Jan. 3, 1785.

☞ Observe!] ☞ 90 Pages in an Octavo Volume for Two shillings, on as interesting Subjects to these [American] United States, as any Thing, perhaps, that has been wrote for a Century past!

"This Day are published, And to be sold by Powars & Willis, in State-Street, Boston, 'Observations On the Importance of the American Revolution; and the Means of making it a Benefit to the World.' By Richard Price."

The *Exchange Advertiser,* Jan. 27, 1785, said that Dr. Price's *Observations* "ought not to be passed over with a slight perusal — they ought to be written before every man's eyes, in *letters of gold.* They ought to be imprinted on the mind of every American, and be immediately carried into practice by all the

terms Dr. Price's sentiments "wholly imaginary ideas of a Republican's brain — they are too antiquated — modern republicanism is of a very different complexion. . . . The ancient republican spirit is like the old principles of religion — staunch Calvinism, but now we have modernized them, and united them with the Court stile of taste and fashion." Jemmy Satirist (A. Hughs) said that "The Doctor's sentiments did well enough in war times, when we were under the influence of Whig principles . . . but now why are we to be dinged with national manners, national debts, economy, industry and such disagreeable subjects?" He stated that he was for "independence of every restraint which can mar the pleasures and amusements of life." Dr. Gallant (Dr. Smith) said that the "old Dons lift up their eyes with horror" at the new principles; but that there should now be no distinctions between Whig and Tory and we should embrace everyone in this Assembly "whatever may have been his principles during the war or however inimical his conduct."

Scene Two consists of a talk between two negro servants, Cuffy and Jack, over their new liberty when their masters remained up so late at night. The last scene is at the card table and consists of an exchange of persiflage and compliments between Mr. Bon Ton (Mr. Cutler) and Madam Brilliant (Mrs. Swan), concluding with the lady's remark that they must attend to their whist so as to finish before 12 o'clock and the gentleman's gallant reply that: "The hours pass most rapidly — but, however, Madam, we must not find fault with time, for in your company *eternity* can be the only measure of our happiness." Exeunt Omnes. Curtain.

This very insipid literary performance, called, by extreme exaggeration, "a farce," and this whole fracas between "Observer" and the Sans Souci, would probably have made little impression upon the public mind, had it not been for the fact that both the farce and the fracas became now curiously involved in Massachusetts politics.[24] For just at this time, John

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legislatures of the United States. It would perhaps be saying too much to assert that every idea is practicable; but certain it is that most of his remarks are *sacred,* and to us, *interesting truths.*"

[24] The farce was the subject of two pieces of verse in the press, in one of which certain defenders of the Sans Souci — S—y and C—n J—y — were said

Hancock, who was then serving his fifth term as Governor, exploded a political bomb by announcing to the Legislature his intention to resign. He gave his ill health as his reason. His opponents, however, attributed his action to the fact that, having allowed the State taxes to remain uncollected for so long, he preferred that the storm which would follow attempts now to collect them should fall on his successor; others maliciously suggested that Hancock did not really expect the Legislature to accept his resignation; others suggested that he expected to control the State through his friend and adherent, Lieutenant Governor Thomas Cushing.[25]

As soon as Hancock announced, on January 29, 1785, his intention of resigning, candidates for his place as Governor began to appear, the leaders of whom were James Bowdoin and Thomas Cushing. James Warren, Benjamin Lincoln and Tristram Dalton were also in the field. Samuel Adams became a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, and so did William Heath.[26] The political campaign which followed Hancock's resignation was heated and attended with much invective and personal abuse in the newspapers. Hancock's friends strongly supported Cushing and opposed Bowdoin, Warren, Lincoln and Adams; for it was supposed that Cushing, if elected, would make way for a return of Hancock, whenever the latter desired.

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to have been disappointed because they were not mentioned by name in the farce; in the other verse, it was said that the lack of epithet and slander in the farce was a disappointment to the "foppish asses" of the Sans Souci, who hop'd to see "a blackguard farce." *Massachusetts Centinel,* Jan. 26, Feb. 5, 1785.

[25] *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,* I. 75, 80; Gerry to King, March 28, 1785; Christopher Gore to King, March 20, 1785: "The late Governor's resignation was a source of great joy to his opponents and much grief to his friends. When he attended on the floor of the House of Representatives to take leave of the Legislature, his enemies discovered marks of indecent joy, while his admirers chose to display their sorrow by unmanly blubbering and sycophantic speeches. . . . The lovers of Mr. Hancock are warm for the present Lieutenant Governor, supposing that the latter will at any time give way to his quondam Excellency if, as is expected, he should again desire an election."

See speech of Hancock to the Legislature, Feb. 18, *American Herald,* Feb. 28, March 21, 1785.

[26] *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,* I. 73, 86, Gerry to King, March 14, April 7, 1785.

Hitherto, there had been no well-defined political parties in Massachusetts. The State campaigns had been fought almost wholly on personal attachment, and John Hancock's following had been vastly preponderant. Gradually, however, since 1780, a faction opposed to Hancock personally, but also having certain concrete principles, had been gathering strength. In this were included most of the old Whigs, headed by Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, General James Warren, Samuel Holten, Rufus King and James Bowdoin. These men, in general, were opposed to any increase of authority of the Congress of the Confederation, and to the vesting of executive powers in heads of departments rather than in Committees of Congress. They were especially fearful of the assumptions of authority by Robert Morris as Superintendent of Finance. They were against Federal imposts, Federal control of customs, commerce with Great Britain, the return of the Tory refugees (many of whom were men of wealth and fashion), and the influence of the lawyer class. The Hancock faction either favored most of these things, or was at least tolerant of them. In addition, many of the old Whigs had a personal antipathy to Hancock, and a distrust of his ability and sincerity. They viewed with alarm his expenditures of money. Samuel Adams, in many letters, had denounced the "pomp and parade," of Hancock's first Administration. James Warren, writing to John Adams, deplored the fact that "our new Government has been ushered in with great splendor, balls, assemblies, entertainments, and feasts equal to anything you can tell of in Europe. . . . The whirl of pleasure and amusement has taken into its vortex Deacons and the other good people who seldom used to be seen in public but at their devotions." [27]

Such being the attitude of Adams and the old Whigs towards Hancock and his adherents, it apparently occurred to both sides that political capital might be made, in the Gubernatorial campaign into which they were thrown in February, 1785, by pointing to this Sans Souci episode as constituting a political attack made by each faction on the other.

The first introduction of a political flavor into the controversy over this gaming Club appeared in the letter of "Candidus" (above referred to and probably written by Benjamin

[27] *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 157, Dec. 19, 1780.

Austin, Jr.) opposing the Club and defending "Observer." He stated that as a Republican who ever meant to act as a friend to the independence of this country, he could not but feel injured at the illiberal treatment and severe reflections "cast on a CERTAIN GENTLEMAN among us, who is supposed to be the writer of the Observer." He said that that gentleman (evidently meaning Samuel Adams) had been the man who "throughout the war has been *foremost in opposition;* who, from the *beginning of our disputes* with Britain, has ever been UNIFORM in his sentiments; whose LIFE was early the object of a British Ministry; Now, (because he strenuously endeavours to support those *first sentiments* of our opposition) to be so *ungratefully* treated by some of his own TOWNSMEN, must ever be a mark of such ingratitude *as no plea can justify.*"

This defence of Adams brought into the field a writer, under the name of "Truth" (evidently a Hancock adherent) who stated that the Sans Souci had "received the most of its consequence, from the silly zeal of its enemies." He intimated that the assault had been due to jealousy of those elements in Boston society and politics who adhered to Governor Hancock. "The *much dreaded* prevalence of public or even private luxury is not the only malady to which the tender constitution of the body politic is exposed in this country. — A great deal may perhaps be apprehended from the spirit of *envy* and *detraction.* The influence *of personal discontent, the neglect of the sacred obligations of public justice,* together with the *grossest inattention* to the necessity of *national union.*" There was need, he said, of moderation not only in luxury but in "ungenerous aspersions." As to "Candidus," "Truth" said that that gentleman knew little, "at that *real period* of *danger,* . . . of the true *principles,* which produced the revolution — *principles* which existed in the courage and unanimity of the people; and above all, in the *just confidence* reposed in the Congress of these States, — whose wisdom projected, and whose steady virtue has been a powerful engine in confirming our independence, and whose *influences* and *authority* had not *then* been sapped, by the artful insinuation of public *jealousy* and of dark and illiberal *suspicion.*"[28]

[28] *American Herald,* Jan. 31, 1785, letter of "Truth"; see also sarcastic letter on the egotism of "Candidus" by "Bravo Candidus" in *Independent*

Following this attack on Adams' defender, there appeared in the *Boston Gazette,* a long letter signed "Guess Who," which, in veiled fashion, asserted that Mrs. Mercy Warren was the author of the farce entitled "The Sans Souci or Free and Easy":

It has ever been the lot of great characters to have their services for the public, rewarded in a greater or less degree, with envy and calumny: for to view the virtuous actions of mankind with applause and delight, and to pass over the foibles of human nature in silence, is not in the power of *disappointed ambition.* But when satire and abuse flow from the pen of a l—y, whose literary accomplishments are known and acknowledged, and she prostitutes her time and talents in endeavoring to blast the character of some of the most worthy of our citizens, whose steady and firm conduct have merited and experienced the effusions of gratitude from their country by being placed in posts of honor and trust; we cannot but regret the depravity of her heart, and consider her talent rather as a curse than a blessing.[29]

The writer then proceeded to charge that Mrs. Warren was assailing Hancock, and that "every emotion of resentment" must be excited when "we find the whole artillery of her scandal and abuse, is levelled at a character, who was one of the first that stepped forth in defence of our country, and whose important services in the hour of danger will ever be remembered, 'while gratitude is esteemed a virtue:' and to time immemorial, after the name of her weak-nerv'd G-n-r-l shall be buried in oblivion." He then stated that the motive was the "disappointed ambition" of General Warren, and, after making charges against the General as a military character, he concluded by bitterly satirizing Mrs. Warren's own literary productions:

Chronicle, Feb. 3, 1785. See also slashing answer by "Candidus" to "Truth," *ibid.* Later, "Truth," in *American Herald,* Feb. 7, 1785, again adverted sarcastically to the political views of "Candidus," saying: "There are some few, I am sensible, who are not so easily *satisfied* — Who, whatever may have been their *patriotic* exertions in forming the *revolution,* would appear, even *quite* as CONSISTENT, if they had *ever* discovered the *least* disposition to enjoy the *effects of it;* or if, they had no *taste,* for those best of blessings, *peace* and *good humour,* would not therefore, do every thing in their power to destroy it in *others.*"

[29] *Boston Gazette,* Feb. 14, 1785.

Many of this l—y's productions have appeared, which reflect no great honor on either the goodness of her heart, or the brilliancy of her pen. If instead of satirizing those whom she caresses as her bosom friends, she were to follow the example of a celebrated female historian, whose talents and abilities are well known in the world of genius and literature, by copying from so perfect a pattern, she would be likely to arrive at that degree of perfection, which she certainly will never attain to, by the composition of F-rc-s, or the illiberal abuse of news-paper essays. Is there not great reason to fear she is contaminated by the soil on which she lives, as it has been notorious for producing hypocrisy and malice, and that the latent seeds which have laid for some time concealed on the polluted earth, are not ripened and are shooting forth with a luxuriance of branches. Open attacks are by far less dangerous than those thrown out by professed friends; for while we defend ourselves from the injury of the first, the last, like the 'canker worm, knaws us to the vitals.' Be no longer then a wolf in the attire of a sheep, but let the features of your sex be traced in the compositions of your pen; and thus shall you receive the applause which is due to real genius.

The phrase "contaminated by the soil on which she lives" is a reference to the fact that General and Mrs. Warren then owned and lived in the house on Milton Hill, formerly owned by Thomas Hutchinson, the Royal Governor.

To this abusive article, no reply appears to have been made in the newspapers; but Mrs. Warren wrote to her son, George, March 7, 1785, a letter which has never been published, in which, after describing to him the nature of the Sans Souci Club, she wrote:[30]

[30] Mrs. Warren's description of the Sans Souci Club was as follows: "You write me that your curiosity is excited by the perusal of a late *farce* that has occasioned much altercation in the City and express a wish to know what was the institution that produced it.

"The *Sans Souci club* was a subscription party consisting principly of the younger class of gay people in the town. I am sorry to tell you it had the sanction of a few, though very few, names of graver characters. They were to meet once a fortnight; their amusements optional, dancing, or cards; music was not forgotten and a provision of forty card tables was made; a ridiculous institution for such a country as this, but there is no stopping the tide. Passion is stronger than the winds, and more likely to over-leap the boundaries of reason than is the ocean to break over the mounds of nature. It is true, indeed, there was a restriction in their articles that circumscribed the stake at a low rate for each game; but experience teaches that there are no bounds to the encroachments of pleasure when anyone once steps over the line of propriety in the pursuit, and in my opinion, an establishment for gaming, though

After the above account, I need make no other answer to your inquiry whether your mother was any way concerned with the society, or the farce that burlesqued it; you are so well acquainted with her taste and sentiments that you only need to know the nature, and the members of any society to judge whether she belongs to them. . . . From the honourable mention of my name in the *farce* and my particular acquaintance with Mrs. Macaulay, some ill-natured persons suggested to her that your mama was the author. I was very sorry indeed that a lady of her superior talents should be concerned in such a foolish business. The name of *Macaulay* as a subscriber to this frivolous society casts a shade on her character, at least as inconsistent; she has endeavoured to apologize for it to her friend.

I hope I shall never write anything I should be so much ashamed to avow as that little indigested farrago: yet I have been abused in one of the papers as the author of that and several satyrical pieces in the newspapers. This has been universally reprobated and resented in behalf of your parents and has been traced up to Hancock's party. The reason for this is, your father is among the first candidates for Governor; but I have no doubt the industry of the partizans in Boston will prevent his election, and probably replace Hancock at the next choice, as his *caprice* will by that time render him ready to accept the chair.

John Eliot wrote to Jeremy Belknap as to the episode as follows:

The town hath been full of anecdotes this winter. One while, the whole conversation was about Brother Thatcher. Next came the *Sans Souci* Assembly, a subject for farces, newspapers, broken heads and legs, etc. It was certainly inconsonant to those principles which preserve the well-being of a republican government, and to that good mode of education which Dr. Price recommends, to have an assembly instituted to encourage the rising generation to throw off all restraint, and to learn the science of cards. And this in order to know life and manners, and be fit companions for the French, with whom the nation is in a political alliance. French etiquette, French

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the stipulations first may be for the most trivial sum, is replete with consequences of the most alarming nature. It is a vice which soon becomes a pleasurable habit, followed by the dark and painful passion of avarice — a passion which has no place in the bosom of youth, until, from education or some other accidental circumstance, nature has taken a wrong bias; nor is there any way to escape the contagion of this fashionable amusement, but a determined resolution not to play at all."

manners and customs, cannot be altogether fashionable, if we abide by our constitutions or laws. Nor ought we to imitate any nation in Europe. We are a people *per se*. We ought to be original, therefore, in our manners, and independent of other nations, of their follies and vices, as of anything else.[31]

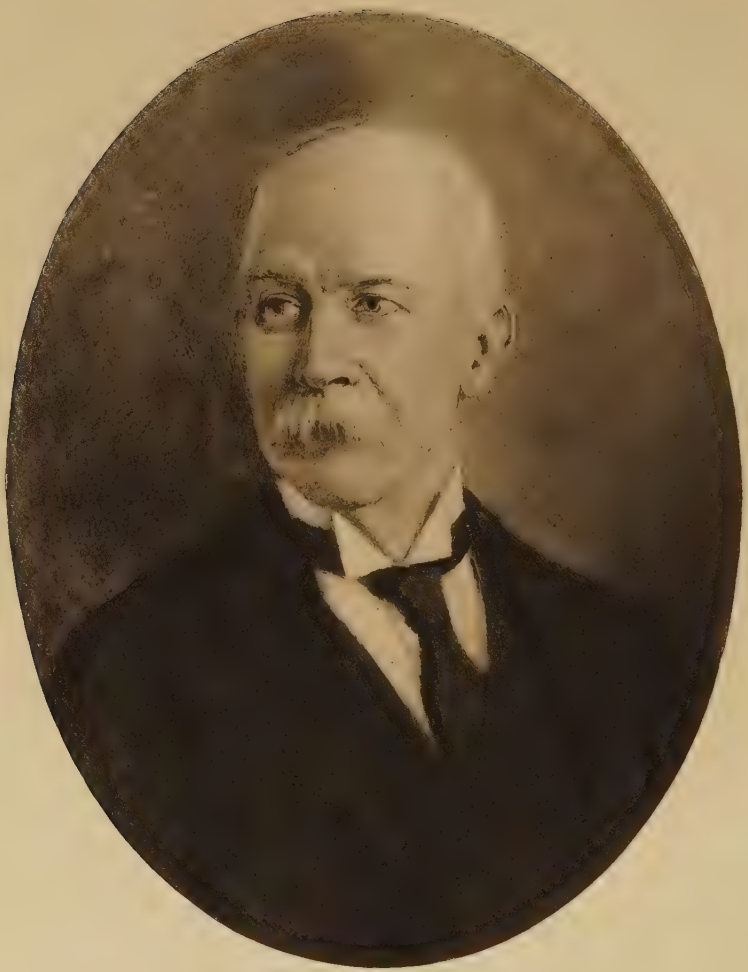
After two months of abusive letters in the press, the public evidently became bored with the fracas; and a letter signed "Think" probably expressed the views of all persons except those immediately concerned:

I am tired and disgusted with "*Sans Souci*" bubbles, noise and nonsense; and heartily wish our folks would employ their time, and pen, and paper, and tongues, to better purpose. . . . This people, for many years, have been pursuing glorious objects, and walking in the high road of fame. — we ought still to be warm in the same pursuit, and press forward in the same road of glory — *not waste golden time in the little wrangling, which occupy peevish, spitfire minds.* It is truly ridiculous and contemptible to neglect the numerous and great concerns of a public nature, for the wretched employment of scribbling, to support that which is *worth nothing*, when supported. Let us be ashamed of such *poverty* of mind, such *low ideas*, such undignified publications. — Let every head and pen be employed to promote frugality, industry, national union, the love of our country, and the other virtues which are necessary for public happiness — to suggest the best way and means to pay our state and national debt, to promote learning and all useful arts, etc. is the work of patriots.[32]

The attention of correspondents in the newspapers thereafter, in 1785, centered on the hot campaign for the Governorship which was ensuing between Bowdoin and Cushing — a campaign which, as one of the earliest political fights in Massachusetts, deserves consideration by historical writers of today.

[31] 6 *Mass. Hist. Collections, Belknap Papers*, III. Eliot to Belknap, Feb. 24, 1785.

[32] *Exchange Advertiser*, Feb. 24, 1785.



Brooks Adams.

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MEMOIR

OF

BROOKS ADAMS

By WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

Brooks Adams, born at Quincy, Mass., June 24, 1848, died at Boston, February 13, 1927, was the youngest son of Charles Francis Adams and Abigail Brooks, daughter of Peter Chardon Brooks. After some years in English schools, his father being the American Minister at the Court of St. James's, he was prepared for Harvard College by Professor Ephraim Whitman Gurney, later to be professor of history in the University. Graduating in 1870, he passed one year in the Harvard Law School, but was taken by his father to Geneva to serve as his Secretary during the Alabama Claims Arbitration. In 1873 he was admitted to the Suffolk bar. It was characteristic of him to take an office in a building other than that where his father and brothers were, and to remain alone, forming no law partnerships, except for a single year, when he was associated with William S. Macfarlane, who removed to New York. In 1883, after having practically retired from active practice, he joined his brothers in the Adams Building, 23 Court Street, and later followed them to the India Building, 84 State Street, Boston.

What turned him to historical writing can only be conjectured. In 1885 he wrote to Charles Deane: "I am for my sins, trying to write something about this State [Massachusetts]. There are, of course, to a man so ignorant of church history, in particular, as I, a number of points I should much like to get cleared up, on which I can't find much light in the books." A more probable cause than that which he assigned was an inherited interest in history and the example of his

brothers. Charles Francis Adams had printed in an edition of half a dozen copies his *Episodes of New England History,* afterwards developed into *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History,* and had recently completed his well edited edition of Morton's *New English Canaan.* Henry had already shown his bent by his four volumes of the *Life* and *Writings of Albert Gallatin,* the first contribution in his notable historical series. With leisure on his hands and with such examples before him it was only natural for Brooks to enter the same field. His first book attracted more general attention than he could have anticipated, but awakened no greater hostility than he could have hoped for. It struck a somewhat new note in Massachusetts historical writing.

The merit of the *Emancipation of Massachusetts* lies in its vigorous denunciation of certain aspects of colonial history and its promise of a new weighing of authorities. It cannot be said that the chapters hang together, for each is rather a separate essay. Nor can it be admitted that the writer discovered hitherto unknown facts, or developed a vitally novel interpretation of known facts. The reader is left in doubt what was the " emancipation " and how or by whom emancipation, if any, was accomplished. The defects of presentation did not in any degree make the work less readable or timely. The overpraise of the Puritan, the unbroken laudation of the early New Englanders, had reached an absurd degree and an attack, resting upon a good use of recognized authorities, came as a welcome relief. The smug self-satisfaction that pervaded the historical writing of the day received a shock which obliged a reconsideration of a blind worship of certain idols and a clinging to carefully nursed prejudices. That the blow came from an Adams made it the more telling, for the Adams tribe were all rebels on proper occasions. From that day the filiopietistic school of history was laughed out of court. Too much credit cannot be given to the native writer who attacked that preposterous structure. It crumbled at the first blow.

A critic suggested that the book showed that Adams had in him the making of a novelist, and instanced the opposite case of Motley, who began as a novelist and ended as an historian. The suggestion was not unkind, for imagination is as useful in good history as in a good novel. Adams' imagination en-

abled him to conceive a theory of historical interpretation; its limitations prevented a full fruition in application. A single idea colored all the chapters and became somewhat monotonous. The same fault affected his *Law of Civilization and Decay,* published in 1896, put forth as a product of the *Emancipation.* From the religious experience of New England he went back to the Reformation, and thence through the schoolmen and crusades. "I thus became convinced that religious enthusiasm, which, by stimulating the pilgrimage, restored communication between the Bosphorus and the Rhine, was the power which produced the accelerated movement culminating in modern civilization." [1] Commerce was antagonistic to the imagination and the medium by which commerce expressed itself he found in its coinage or money. Convinced that conscious thought played an exceedingly small part in moulding the fate of men, he believed that as the external world changed only those survived whose nervous system — he used also the word mind — was adapted to the conditions to which they were born. Finally, he perceived that "the intellectual phenomena under examination fell into a series which seemed to correspond, somewhat closely, with the laws which are supposed to regulate the movements of the material universe." History then must be governed by law. As the law of force and energy is of universal application in nature, animal life being one of the outlets through which solar energy is dissipated, human societies differ among themselves in proportion as they are endowed by nature with energy. He coined terms which recur again and again throughout the book — the velocity of social movement in any community is proportionate to its energy and mass; its centralization is proportionate to its velocity; "therefore, as human movement is accelerated, societies centralize." His conclusion preached downright fatalism:

> In proportion as movement accelerates societies consolidate, and as societies consolidate they pass through a profound intellectual change. Energy ceases to find vent through the imagination, and takes the form of capital; hence as civilizations advance, the imaginative temperament tends to disappear, while the economic in-

[1] *Law,* vi.

stinct is fostered, and thus substantially new varieties of men come to possess the world.

Nothing so portentous overhangs humanity as this mysterious and relentless acceleration of movement, which changes methods of competition and alters paths of trade; for by it countless millions of men and women are foredoomed to happiness or misery, as certainly as the beasts and trees, which have flourished in the wilderness, and are destined to vanish when the soil is subdued by man.[2]

In spite of this dominant note the study of the rise and fall of trade, the routes it followed and the media of exchange, is valuable and brilliantly written. Rarely has an economic treatise been set forth in so attractive yet irritating a form.

It is worthy of record that the book was reviewed in *The Forum* by Theodore Roosevelt, who characteristically expressed the warmest admiration with emphatic dissent from parts of the thesis. Somewhat to his amusement Roosevelt was attacked for "having dealt too gently with Brooks," the seasoned Charles A. Dana being one of the objectors. The method of the *Emancipation* had been extended to the wider field of world history. The constantly repeated phrases seemed to force the acceptance of his theme as a well established historical law — almost axiomatic. Although the book reached a second issue, it never had the influence it deserved and for a peculiar reason, not necessarily inherent. It appeared when the acrimonious contest on monetary standards divided the country and those who favored silver found in it a support to their contention that a period of contraction of the currency was a period of suffering, and that the bankers, having the power to enforce contraction, used that power tyrannically. The "mighty engine of a single standard" favored the bankers. That application of his studies raised a prejudice against the book, an unexpected political intervention. To attribute the study and much of the form it took to his brother Henry would not be far out of the way, for Henry believed in silver and in an even more general and radical dissipation of energy than Brooks had suggested. Writing of the "panic" of 1893 Henry said:

[2] *Law*, 297.

For the first time in several years he saw much of his brother Brooks in Quincy, and was surprised to find him absorbed in the same perplexities. Brooks was then a man of forty-five years old; a strong writer and a vigorous thinker who irritated too many Boston conventions ever to suit the atmosphere; but the two brothers could talk to each other without atmosphere and were used to audiences of one. Brooks had discovered or developed a law of history that civilization followed the exchanges, and having worked it out for the Mediterranean was working it out for the Atlantic. Everything American, as well as most things European and Asiatic became unstable by this law, seeking new equilibrium and compelled to find it. Loving paradox, Brooks, with the advantages of ten years' study, had swept away much rubbish in the effort to build up a new line of thought for himself, but he found that no paradox compared with that of daily events. The facts were constantly outrunning his thoughts. The instability was greater than he calculated; the speed of acceleration passed bounds. Among other general rules he laid down the paradox that, in the social disequilibrium between capital and labor, the logical outcome was not collectivism, but anarchism; and Henry made note of it for study.[3]

The note of social hopelessness ruled Brooks from that time. It was the year after the issue of the *Law of Civilization and Decay* that I first met Mr. Adams — a legacy of his brother Henry, when Brooks occupied for one winter the house on H Street, at this moment being torn down to make room for a modern office building. I was in charge of the national commercial statistics and had come to know Henry intimately, through a common interest in the balance-of-trade conundrum — insoluble except by way of generals, not by actual statistics. Brooks' problem involved wider considerations. He was already preaching the unholy domination of the bankers and the assured, nay, imminent downfall of Europe — a universal cataclysm which economically fore-shadowed a day of judgment. His first note to me, dated May 14, 1897, contained the sentences: " I am full of gloomy fears. I do not know where we are going, nor do I see any light ahead. There seems to me to be no headway on the ship and that we are going on the rocks. I hope I may be wrong." If that hope

[3] *Education of Henry Adams*, 338.

ever took shape he never confessed to entertaining it. His earnestness, his wide reading, his unusual interpretation of usual data, and his unshakable certainty, were extremely interesting to a mere statistician, whose occupation was to gather unlimited tables of figures for others to misinterpret. From that time I saw much of him, read letters from many parts of the world to his brother Henry, and myself corresponded freely with him, and the drift of his endeavor tended in one direction — to warn of the end of the economic world. His best writings treated of that subject and the deepening shadows of his convictions placed him in the van of pessimists.

In 1900 he published *America's Economic Supremacy,* a special study of the last three years of the decade but cast in the mould of the *Law of Civilization and Decay.* The international center of empire and wealth was moving from England westward and the instinctive effort of humanity to adjust itself to the new conditions had caused the unrest that prevailed in Europe and in Asia. Even should the seat of wealth and power rest for a time in America the industrial development of Asia might prove the stronger and in the end become the more important factor. American social and political institutions, he thought, were ill-adapted to meet such a contest or responsibility successfully. Much of his speculation, rather loosely supported by figures, has been disproved by events; the essay on "Natural Selection in Literature," being a comparison between Scott and Dickens based upon a social change, is extremely suggestive as a critical excursion and may be remembered. "What divided Dickens from the men of letters who had preceded him was the gulf which divided Cobden from Chatham. Dickens was the child, the creation, of the 'Industrial Revolution.'"[4]

Not satisfied with what he had written on trade routes and their influence on civilization, and having gone more deeply into the subject by consulting European libraries, he published in 1902 *The New Empire.* It was not so much an expansion of his theory, for he had already covered the world in outline on the subject, as a closer presentation of a phase. The note struck in the preface gave his idea of his undertaking: "All my observations lead me to the conclusion that geographical

[4] *America's Economic Supremacy,* 139.

conditions have exercised a great, possibly a preponderating, influence over man's destiny. I am convinced that neither history nor economics can be intelligently studied without a constant reference to the geographical surroundings which have affected different nations." The influence of environment, geographical or other, was no novelty, however imperfectly the governing principles had been defined. But when Adams baldly stated that in the decade before 1900 " the seat of energy has migrated from Europe to America " and insisted upon " American supremacy," he went beyond what the facts justified. He himself qualified his own statements. If American corporations, thanks to applied science, had shown unequalled economy and energy in administration, the national government showed signs of decrepitude. All administrative systems tend to become rigid, " more especially political systems, because they are most cumbersome." On the other hand, nature is in eternal movement; unless the government adapts itself to change catastrophe follows. The British nation suffered through intellectual rigidity. If America should become the " new empire," it must be an enormous complex mass, " to be administered only by means of a cheap, elastic, and simple machinery; an old and clumsy mechanism must, sooner or later, collapse, and in sinking may involve a civilization." [5] To reach that conclusion the history of the known world had been related and the reader, rather disturbed by his breathless career through the ages, is not quite convinced that the remedy, suggested rather than imposed, will answer to the undeniably able exposition of the past.

Continuing his studies Adams published in 1913 his *Theory of Social Revolutions*. The idea pervading the book may be thus briefly sketched. Civilization is nearly synonymous with centralization; but social consolidation (he changes the word) implies an equivalent capacity for administration. Revolutions have for the most part supervened on administrative difficulties. A new mind, formed or aided by triumphant science, rises through social revolution and a redistribution of property. The capitalistic class, in control, showed an absence of success in government, believed it could purchase all it wanted — courts, legislatures and elections — and was precipitating

[5] *The New Empire*, 211.

a conflict, instead of establishing an adjustment. It was a lawless class, unequal in mind to cope with the extremely complex administration of modern industrial civilization. Without a great change the capitalist will decline and capital become fugitive.[6]

There was another feature to his activities which, had it been cultivated, held promise of more permanent results — his studies in legal history. His active law practice ceased after 1881 and was never resumed until he became a lecturer in the Boston University School of Law in 1904, a position he held for seven years. His colleague, in a sense his master, was Melville M. Bigelow, of whom he said: "More learned lawyers doubtless have lived than was Mr. Bigelow. I do not dispute the fact. But if so I have never met them."[7] In that surrounding he might have formed a permanent place, for it was both congenial and centered his reading. Lecturing stimulated him and some of his students, and after Bigelow's resignation as Dean of the Law School, Adams continued an evening course which originated with him and counted towards the degree of LL.M. Only for a short while, however, and he ended his connection with the School with regret. While his pronouncements on law and his methods of expressing them may not have appealed to lawyers long experienced in practice (and it was rumored that there were some who objected), there is no doubt of his ability to command a small and enthusiastic following. The University in no respect interfered with his teaching, as Mr. Pillsbury has established by an examination of the records. Adams enjoyed the contact as much as did his students. He embodied fragments of his lectures in two chapters of *Centralization and the Law* on "The Nature of Law — Methods and Aims of Legal Education" and "Law under Inequality; Monopoly." A brief essay on "Unity of Law" he contributed to the *Bulletin* of the Boston University School of Law. More important, and better examples of his manner of weaving his social and historical studies into a presentation of a legal argument, were two printed briefs.

In 1910 he printed his brief in the case of the City of Spokane *vs.* Northern Pacific Railway under the title *Railways as*

[6] The concluding chapter of the work has been summarized.

[7] *Proceedings*, LIV. 293.

Public Agents. A Study in Sovereignty, the contention being that "uncontrolled methods of monopolistic administration of railways, which have hitherto been tolerated in the United States, are incompatible with the continuance of constitutional government." There is also in print a brief of unknown date on the French Spoliation Claims, which contains much historical reference and should be read in connection with his more careful presentation of the historical facts in "The Convention of 1800 with France." [8] As a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1917 he made an address in favor of the Initiative and Referendum, and he spoke rather as a student of past history than as a lawyer, and the connection with the Initiative was of the slightest. It became in the end a reassertion of the need of collective administration. Mr. Albert E. Pillsbury writes of that incident: "He talked political philosophy to the members, who listened respectfully, but most of them with the amused curiosity of a child at the appearance of a new and strange animal. His voice and vote were given for the Initiative and Referendum, which seemed inconsistent with his lack of faith in democracy, but he privately defended his position on the ground that the measure would furnish a safety-valve against the oppressions of capital." [9] This naturally leads to the position he held in matters of government.

Democracy has come to have many meanings and, like most political terms of frequent use, has no accepted definition. American democracy, in origin, development and present status, challenges controversy whenever used to buttress a cause or disprove an opposing argument. The subject occupied much of Adams' speculation in his later years. However absorbed in studying world conditions, the great experiment of a government by the people in America offered what might almost be termed an inherited problem. John and John Quincy Adams could be eloquent on the efforts they had made to direct a republic and the trials to which they had been subjected at the hands of a democracy, and the second half of the nineteenth century had greatly complicated its operations. Brooks had already shown at full length the rule of the money

[8] *Proceedings,* XL. 377.

[9] *Boston Evening Transcript,* February 14, 1927.

power, tracing its history from the eleventh century; he watched the progress of the mad war and the apparent justification of his worst fears on the social instability of Europe; and he brooded in doubt of the ability of the American people to hold their own in the face of such a visitation and its probable permanent results. In an address, June 17, 1916, he made the statement that to him "it seems far from improbable that we shall find to our sorrow, when the present conflict has closed, our fortunes to have been more deeply concerned in the readjustment impending than were the fortunes of many of the nations already fighting." Using the rise of trade paths and facilities as a measure he showed how little coherence in political thought could be found in our history, how state and section had maintained conflicting interests and opinions which even the establishing of unquestioned nationality by the civil war could not harmonize. To him the conclusion was inevitable: that the largest and richest nation of the world had lost in its collective energy in thought and action. He had occasion in the same year to speak on "The Revolt of Modern Democracy against Standards of Duty" before the American Academy of Arts and Letters. He assumed that no national civilization can cohere against those enemies which must certainly beset it, if it fail to recognize as its primary standard of duty the obligation of the individual man and woman to sacrifice themselves for the whole community in time of need. He then pointed out how far the Americans had gone in opposing what they believed to be the "tyranny of self-sacrifice." Reverting to his earlier train of ideas he again expressed his belief that "we Americans are nearly incapable of continuous collective thought except at long intervals under the severest tension." The particular, the selfish interest, dominated the collective interest. "Democratic ideal" was only a phrase to express our renunciation as a nation to all standards of duty, and the substitution therefor of a reference to private judgment.

So unfavorable an opinion of the rule of the people could easily be discounted by objecting to its source and its expression. Yet inheritance and provocative language the rather insisted upon the fundamental truth of the indictment. What replies were made drifted into that wordy laudation of democ-

racy which has been such an obstacle to clear thinking, and statistics of progress reached nowhere in the face of a wrecked Europe and the notorious trend towards selfishness in America. What may be regarded as Brooks Adams' final word on the subject took the form of an introduction to Henry Adams' *Letter to American Teachers of History,* reprinted in 1920 with the title *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma.* He abated in no respect his dark explanations of the past and gloomier foreboding for the future, but he supported them by the lives and opinions of his grandfather, John Quincy Adams, and of his brother Henry. The degradation of energy applied to the intellect as well as to nature — still the note of the *Law of Civilization and Decay* — and Democracy, an infinite mass of conflicting minds and of conflicting interests, " loses in collective intellectual energy in proportion to the perfection of its expansion. . . . I hope I have set forth his [Henry's] doctrines of modern social movement with sufficient clearness to indicate his meaning." The manifold applications to stated phases of that movement can only be appreciated by reading all that he has written. That he had no large following need not be matter for surprise; that he had earnest admirers was certain.

It is obvious that Mr. Adams exhausted his views on social movement and administration in his *Law of Civilization and Decay* and his later outpourings repeated rather than really enlarged his outlook. He received recognition abroad in greater measure than at home. The *Law of Civilization,* with added matter, was translated into French and German; the *Economic Supremacy* appeared in a German and the *New Empire* in German and Russian translations. He commented on the little attention he thought his writings had received in the United States and, with a note of bitterness, saw how often his researches and theories, and even his set examples, were quoted without credit. Every writer has much the same feeling. Dealing with what is current he expresses only what is in the air, open to any other observer who gives it attention. Adams' strength was in his presentation of the past — the far past — and his earlier methods gave good results, putting in a connected and attractive form what was not readily accessible, or what had been buried in the overpowering learning of

foreign, chiefly German, authors. Those same methods held danger. He would strike off an opinion on a present social phase, based on economic facts, as conspicuous as it was true, a brilliant summary of complicated relations. A little later he would have carried the question to the seventeenth century, linking it with legal or monied incidents of that time, still maintaining his thesis and strengthening it by apposite arguments. Yet later he had reached the Middle Ages, Rome, Greece, Egypt and the dawn of civilization, still searching, still convinced, but having lost the original question. It was no longer an explanation of immediate social ill, but the history of the development of an idea. To a certain point he carried us with him, unquestioningly and wondering; but the fated break came; some wide chasm overleaped by a flash of perception beyond our mentality, and we saw him disappear in the beginnings of things, now wholly separated from his original proposition, but enthusiastic in plotting connection and sequence that held out the promise of an all inclusive generalization. That it should also be all conclusive, final, seemed of secondary moment.

In reviewing the writings of Mr. Adams the impression grows that his message, as he conceived it, was neither novel nor complete. A custom by long usage grows into a law, and a generalization may in time come to be accepted as a law. The *law* of civilization put forth by Adams in 1896 again appeared twenty-three years later as a *theory* of social revolutions. Details had been dropped and new illustrations added. No change of terms could conceal the fact that the earlier note was repeated in the later year, but the change from law to theory seems to suggest doubt on his own part. The persistence of the note through all his writings gives a certain consistency to the product, while emphasizing the real restrictions of his conclusions. His chapters have substance and show sound reading; his explanations of social movement and disturbance are suggestive. That he had a true remedy for social ills cannot be admitted, and after 1914 much of his speculation went by the board. It is difficult to make a true appreciation of his life work. His influence was felt by few, but it was a select few.

He was in a sense proud of his ancestry, proud of the " Old House " at Quincy and its contents, and proud of his father's

achievements. He rather resented criticism of the presidents and opposed an extensive biography of his father. Not oversympathetic with any of his brothers he disliked to listen to praise of them. It was a form of jealousy, unconscious, for he looked upon himself as holding a distinct position and expected others to recognize it. Charles Francis and Henry had inherited from John Quincy Adams — the one in his active interest in public questions, the other in his taste for science. John Adams had been a great lawyer, and from him Brooks claimed to derive his characteristics. Teaching law would have been a profession, for the search after general principles fascinated him; but the practice of law in these days is quite another matter from its practice in the Massachusetts of the eighteenth century. The union of law and revolution in John Adams differed entirely from the same union in Brooks Adams. The unrest of modern conditions was reflected in the restlessness of Brooks' mind. Its fineness and inheritance were wasted on questions of secondary import. Public employment might have concentrated this energy and made it of public service, but the opportunity never came.

With all his eager participation in modern life he had a strong regard for earlier beliefs and practices. He harked back to the first days of New England when he rose in the Stone Church at Quincy and made public profession of his faith. There was no wish to be peculiar; the act was wholly spontaneous, sincere, intended to serve as an example as well as an effort to bring back into use a once honored custom. We could have looked for such an act from many others rather than from him. Again heredity may explain. John Quincy Adams lived a life of deep religious conviction and wrote letters to his son on the study of the Bible, which passed through many editions and are still to be met. Charles Francis Adams, the elder, entertained a faith undisturbed by the advance of science which so often took the shape of attacks on revealed religion. The form of Brooks' confession would have surprised his forbears, yet it merely denounced the appeal on moral questions to private judgment as leading to " an emasculated church, a renunciation of the old canons of duty, and an impotent administration of justice." Neither science nor philosophy had offered explanations or substitutes, and, renouncing the agnosticism of his youth, he accepted the ec-

clesiastical tradition. "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief."

Mr. Adams was elected a member of this Society in April, 1902, thus making the third of his family and generation to be chosen, an unusual, if not unique circumstance in the history of the Society. He was also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. He had twice been taken into the Wednesday Club of Boston. He was fond of out-of-door exercise, bicycled and was among the last to drive a pair of horses. His love of animals was shown by the provision he made for them in his will, and those associated with him in the daily service of life were devoted to him. The tradition of Adams coldness and reserve, applied and strengthened in each generation, becomes as nothing when put to the test of friendship and family intimacy. An outward shyness gives an impression of reserve; a somewhat dogmatic expression of opinion gives rise to a feeling of brusqueness beyond what is usual. The two qualities of shyness and moral courage may exist side by side and no one ever questioned the courage of an Adams.

He married, September 7, 1889, Evelyn Davis, daughter of Admiral Charles Henry Davis and Harriette Blake Mills, and a sister of Mrs. Henry Cabot Lodge. She died December 14, 1926. After his marriage he passed his summers in the "Old House" at Quincy and after 1910 his winters at 33 Chestnut Street, Boston. In both homes he and his wife had an appropriate setting of family portraits, old china and silver. The man who wrote the *Emancipation* which shocked the older generation was the same man who amused a younger generation — and himself — thirty-three years later, in making Moses a vulgar magician and suicide. In the last chapter we forget the printed extravagancies and remember the man of brilliant though ungoverned mind, the framer of dazzling pictures and remarkable generalizations, the host of aggressive and stimulating conversation, never so well pleased as when he felt you in opposition, and the friend whose demands were large, but whose compensation in suggestion and direction was larger. He was the last of his generation, contributing his accentuated personality in the group of four notably individual brothers.

JUNE MEETING, 1927.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, June 9, 1927, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From R. W. Clarke, papers of the ship *Arno,* Capt. William Kempton, January to December, 1807.

From the late John Russell, two scrap-books prepared by him on the Civil War.

From Miss Marian C. Jackson, scrap-books, 1857–1869, kept by George McKean Folsom in an account-book of Bradford & Read, booksellers of Boston, 1813, 1814; also a passport of her father, Charles Jackson, son of Judge Charles Jackson.

From Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, Caleb Davis and Shattuck family papers, 1778 to 1918.

From Miss M. P. Lord, of Kennebunkport, Maine, papers of her brother, Daniel W. Lord, and drawings, 1830–1889.

From Mrs. David O. French, of Dorchester, two family Bibles containing entries of the Blake and Veazie families, 1826–1885.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Gen. Francis Henry Appleton, two photographs taken on Boston Common, April 29, 1916, and Jan. 20, 1926, with an insert of a view of the "Old Colonnade Row."

From William Sumner Appleton, a souvenir medal of Santa Monica, California.

From Grenville H. Norcross, several coins.

From the Travellers Insurance Company, Hartford, Conn., a medal struck on the tenth anniversary of its president, Louis Fatio Butler.

From Mrs. David O. French, and Warren G. Veazie, of Dorchester, several family portraits and miscellaneous pieces.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Clarence Henry Haring, of Cambridge, accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

The President announced the death at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on May 11, 1927, of James Kendall Hosmer, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. HAROLD MURDOCK read the following letter from his collection.

Rev. WILLIAM GORDON to SAMUEL WILCON

Tho' deprived of the comfort of hearing, my dear Sir, from you and other friends, whom I would by no means involve in difficulties, in order to my obtaining that special pleasure after so long an interval; yet I can embrace every opportunity of sending to you without increasing my own particular danger, which I consider as trifling, while I am sensible that I am very obnoxious to all the tools of administration in this part of the world. I decline saying of the British Empire, as it is highly probable, that the British Empire will not long comprehend the American colonies. A separation seems to be coming on apace; and France is in readiness and only waits the opportunity for making her advantage of it. I wrote to you from Philadelphia the 12th of September, 1775. We returned to our dwelling by the 14th of October and thro' the goodness of God, besides having been favour'd with a pleasant journey, had the happiness of finding our situation such as would admit of our remaining on the Plain, the invaders of our rights not being able to penetrate our lines. We might have been drove off several times since, had they known the critical moment; but it was not the will of heaven that they should break out and ravage the country. We supposed that they were fully acquainted with the state of our camp: but either the accounts that were carried in varied so as to confound them, or something else prevented. 'Tis the cast of the New Englanders to enlist for a certain time, and when the time is expired to quit the service and return home, let the call for their continuance be ever so urgent. The time for the Connecticut troops was out the beginning of December; the consequence of which was that some thousands left us so weak handed, that Gen'l Howe might have attempted the lines with a great probability of carrying them. I addressed two or three regiments, and have been told since by one of the men, that I prevailed upon three hundred to stay for another month, which was all that was requested of them. The beginning of January the enlistment for the Massachusetts Hampshire and Rhode Island troops was out, when further numbers went

off; and about the 10th of that month, Gen'l How might, humanly speaking, have come out and cut us to pieces, having nearly as many regulars as we had provincials. The history of this war down to the present day, April 1, 1776, will be little else than a detail of marvellous interpositions of providence. The old continental army was dismissed, and a new one raised differently modelled from the former, under the guns of our enemies. Tho' we were in such a fluctuating state from the beginning of December till the end of January, yet we carried on our approaches. A number of militia were called in to strengthen us when at the weakest, but during the interval between the troops leaving the camp and the arrival of the others to fill up their place, a capital blow might have been struck. While the harbour on the side of Cambridge and Dorchester was froze over, it was warmly talked once and again of crossing the ice, and attacking our enemies in Boston; I never relished the thought. The repulse at Quebec cool'd some fiery spirits, and prudence prevented such a rash undertaking. On the 14th of February about four in the morning a party from the Castle under Col. Leslie join'd another sent over the ice to Dorchester neck by Gen'l How burnt about half a dozen houses; but the General's scheme failed. He was up the whole night and busy in getting ready for an attack with two thousand of his troops, or it might be more. He expected that the burning of the houses would occasion such an alarm, as to put us upon sending from Roxbury lines a large reinforcement, and thereby give him an opportunity of attacking them with advantage: but when day broke he found that our men were as usual at their alarm posts so that he could not prosecute his plan. The burning of the houses, was a kind of retaliation, for our having gone over, some time before, from Prospect hill to Charles Town, and burnt a number of houses that the regulars made use of: but our expedition alarm'd them much more than theirs alarm'd us; for they apprehended we were going to attack Bunkers hill and the town at the same time. What was particular, while we were going on with our expedition, the ministerial officers were attending a play and the farce was the blockade of Boston, designed to ridicule us; just as the farce was commencing in comes the orderly serjeant crying out that the provincials had attacked Bunkers hill, some imagined it was a part of the farce, but the officers knew better and so did the generality, confusion and disorder therefore immediately ensued, and every military genius had to hasten to his post. Thus the ridicule was turned upon themselves, and for some time they imagined that we had got scent of their intention and designed it; but herein they were mistaken. Our brave and sensible commander in chief

his Excellency Gen'l Washington, having laid his plan for seizing and fortifying Dorchester hills, that overlook the town, and that Gen'l Burgoyne mentions in his letter giving an account of the engagement on the 17th of June, applied to the New England governments, Rhode Island excepted, for a reinforcement of some thousands for two months, ending with the last of March, which was accordingly sent. Our troops were busied in making fascines and in getting every other matter in readiness. A battle was expected and ardently wished for, whenever we should possess the hills. It was urged by some to go on so as that the engagement might happen on the 5th of March, the day on which the unarmed mob was fired upon at Boston by Capt. Preston's men. It was accordingly concluded to enter upon the work the 4th at night. In the mean time to amuse the enemy, our bomb batteries being finished on Cambridge and Roxbury side, a few shells were thrown into town saturday night March the third; till then it was not believed that we had so many warlike instruments, but we had sent to Ticonderoga and had brought over the lakes, while froze sufficient to bear, cannon, mortars, and howittzs, to the amount of fifty and better; shells we got from the king's store at N. York. On the Lord's day night more shells were thrown, besides firing a number of cannon into the town. The monday night it was repeated and increased considerably; but not one of our friends in town was hurt; about half a dozen soldiers lost their limbs. All things being ready, as soon as the evening admitted of it, the undertaking went forward. The covering party consisting of 800 men led the way; then the carts with the entrenching tools; after that the main working body under Gen'l Thomas consisting of about 1200; a train of more than 300 carts loaded with fascines, presst hay, in bundles of seven or eight hundred, etc. closed the procession. Every one knew his place and business, the covering party when upon the ground divided, half went to the point next to Boston, the other to that next to the Castle. All possible silence was observed. The wind lay so as to carry what noise could not be avoided, by driving the stakes and picking against the frozen ground (for the frost was still more than a foot thick, about a foot and a half) to carry, I say, what noise could not be avoided, into the harbour between the town and the castle, so as not to be heard and regarded by such as had no suspicion of what we were after, especially as there was a continued cannonade on both sides. Many of the carts made three trips, some four. Gen'l Thomas told me that he pulled out his watch and found that by ten o'clock at night, they had got two forts, one upon each hill, sufficient to defend them from small arms

and grape shot. The men continued working with the utmost spirit, till relieved the tuesday morning about three. The neighbouring militia had been called in for three days to guard against accidents, and were in by twelve at night, some before, in the evening. The night was remarkably mild, a finer for working could not have been taken out of the whole 365. It was hazy below so that our people could not be seen, tho' it was a bright moon light night above on the hills. When the ministerialists discovered in the morning early what we had been after, they were astonished upon seeing what we had done. Gen'l How was seen to scratch his head and heard to say by those that were about him, that he did not know what he should do, that the provincials (he likely called them by some other name) had done more work in one night than his whole army would have done in six months. In this strong manner did he express his surprise. He soon called a council of war and determined upon attempting to dislodge our people (the Admiral having informed him that if we possessed those heights he could not keep one of his Majesty's ships in the harbour). Spectators in abundance, Yours among the rest, were looking out upon the adjacent hills for a bloody battle. The wharf was thronged with soldiers, while numbers were going on board vessels, the provincials rejoiced at seeing it, clapped their hands and wished for the expected attack: Gen. Washington said to those that were at hand remember it is the fifth of March, and avenge the death of your brethren: it was immediately asked what the General said, by those that were not near enough to hear, and as soon answered; and so from one to another thro' all the troops, which added fresh fuel to the martial fire before kindled. The General's plan was in case such a number came out of Boston attackt and were defeated, for a body of three thousand provincials to cross over from Cambridge and attempt the town in the confusion that the regulars must have been in. Proper signals had been agreed upon, and by means of the hills which were in view one of another intelligence could be conveyed instantly from Dorchester heighths to Roxbury and from Roxbury to Cambridge. The town of Boston is so surrounded on every side by neighbouring hills, that nothing could take place at the wharfs or next to the water, but we could note it by the help of glasses. The tide was turned, and the day too far spent to admit of the regulars coming out and attacking on the fifth of March. They would have been under great disadvantages had they landed after high water, at the point next to the town. Gen'l How proposed attacking therefore the next morning very early. He considered the affair as desperate, but thought the attempt necessary. The

ministerial troops were not hearty in the matter. It was observed by one before whose door they were drawn up ere they embarked, that they looked in general pale and dejected, and said to one another that it would be another Bunkers hill affair or worse: some few of them shewed great resolution and talked of what they would do with the rebels. I have been informed that Gen'l How's plan was,* to make a feint towards Lechmores point on the side of Cambridge, to attack the lines at Roxbury with a large body under his own command without firing, with bayonets fixed, and to attempt Dorchester hills by about two thousand men under Earl Percy. The party designed for Dorchester was to have landed in the hollow between the furthest of the two fortified hills and the castle. The men were to have went down in the evening of the fifth. When two of their vessels came down opposite the hollow, they were unexpectedly fired at by a couple of our guns which made them sheer off immediately. The wind was very unfavourable to the design carrying on by the ministerialists, blowing pritty fresh and almost full against them. I came home early finding nothing could be done that evening; and being fatigued with riding forward and backward, and the exercise of body and mind natural to such a peculiar state of things, and designing to be up by day break and down in view of what might be going on, I went to bed about eight. I expected that the men of war would get as near to Dorchester hills as possible, that the next morning at day break a most heavy cannonade would begin; and I thought it probable that the regulars would land under cover of it, and proceed to attack the provincials. But when I heard in the night how amazingly strong the wind blew (for it was such a storm as scarce any one remember'd to have heard) and how it rained towards morning, I concluded that the ships could not stir, and pleased myself with the reflection that the Lord might be working deliverance for us and preventing the effusion of human blood. The event proved that it was so. The storm hindered the attack; and it was so given out afterward, in general orders by Gen. How as appears by one of the orderly books that fell into our hands. Immediately orders were given to prepare for embarking the troops, that the town might be speedily evacuated. The tories were thunder-struck, and terribly dejected. All was hurry and confusion: the soldiers working like horses night and day, getting on board what they could as fast as possible. On the 17th of March in the morning they evacuated the town. They went off in a hurry and fright, leaving behind them stores to the amount of thirty thousand pound sterling or better, besides what they destroyed. God has done wonders for

us. May we not only sing his praises, but remember his works. Must refer you to the publick prints for further particulars. Shall be soon busy in getting my books and furniture back, and in settling afresh. I wish your way was clear for coming over to and settling at Boston. No less than three churches are in want. Humanly judging you would be by far more extensively useful in New England than you can be in old. Do think of the matter seriously. You may have an opportunity of coming perhaps by the way of France to one part or other of the Continent, and no sooner should I hear of it, but would health permit should hasten to you. You have my consent to make this as publick as you please, altering the diction wherein faulty thro' the haste in which I have been obliged to write. Give my best respects to all friends. Design writing to Mr. Thornton by Capt. Foster of —— who I expect will sail about three weeks, having had Gen. Washington's leave to return home with the Captains of some other vessels that were taken, bringing provision etc. to the regulars. Adieu my dear Brother.

[*Unsigned.*]

Jamaica Plain, April 6, 1776.

Was disappointed in the means of conveyance and so am got into the month of May.

* have since learnt from a gentleman in Boston, that all the ladders that could be procured were cut to ten feet lengths, that the party designed for Dorchester hills and that were to have landed in the hollow did not amount to two thousand, but consisted of the grenadiers and light infantry; that Gen'l How intended crossing over, below Lambs dam so as to get upon the neck leading to the hills from the country, with four thousand and better with some other generals under him, designing in that way to put our people between two fires and if he succeeded to cut off their retreat, that Gen. Robinson was to have attacked the lines at Roxbury with fifteen hundred, he was sensible of the hazard and the night before sent for a lawyer to make his will as did many others, and that Gen'l Pigott was to remain at New Boston, a part of the town so called, with six hundred men to defend the eminences and to guard against any attack from our people from Lechmores point. His Excellency Gen'l Washington had strengthened himself for a few days while the matter was depending by calling in the neighbouring militia to the amount of about fifteen hundred. When the ministerialists were preparing to leave Boston he sent off the riflemen by land to N. York to assist in securing that city should How propose possessing himself of it; and before they sailed, a whole Brigade

under Gen'l Heath about ninety miles by land and then to go up the Sound, and afterwards the rest of the army, except a few regiments which are left at Boston, took the same rout, notwithstanding the season of the year: and since the arrival of the troops at N. Y., that city has been so fortified that they bid defiance to the whole British navy: from N. Y. several regiments have been sent up the river to Albany and so to Canada: am in daily expectation of hearing that Quebec has been stormed and taken. Col. now Gen. Arnold continued to block up Quebec when he had not half the number of effective men that Carleton had, viz. but 530. The number of effective men that Gen'l How had when he left Boston was 7,500 and odd exclusive of staff officers. We are fortifying every harbour upon the continent belonging to the united colonies, and intend verifying Gov'r Johnston's remarks about the weakness of ships to attempt any thing effectual without the support of an army. Even Georgia has baffled the regulars and prevented the execution of their plan to land at the Savannah. The poor tories under Gen'l Donald McDonald have been beaten and dispersed, and disarmed, and the General taken prisoner. Hitherto the ministerialists have been baffled in all their projects: how far it may please God thus to favour us for the future cannot be known, but we are recommended by the Congress to implore his continued gracious interposition, in the observation of another continental fast tomorrow fortnight the 17th of May. May the 6th 1776.

Thomas Frederick Tout, of London, England, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

A paper on " Daniel Webster " by Mr. BRADFORD was read by Mr. WOLKINS.

Colonel BANKS read a paper on

ENGLISH SOURCES OF EMIGRATION TO THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Owing to the loss of a very large portion of the lists of passengers sailing for New England which were kept at all English ports, we are deprived of accurate means of knowing the actual number of persons registering for emigration before 1650. The usual information found in the few surviving lists (mostly for the year 1635), stating the residence of the intending emigrants, shows the distinct loss of knowledge result-

ing from careless storage of these books in the dungeons of the Tower. Winthrop in his *Journal* began to mention the arrival of ships, giving the number of passengers in each and often the names of some of the principal passengers; but in 1635 the arrivals were so numerous that he merely enumerated them without further particulars. The earliest contemporary statement on the subject was published by Edward Johnson at the end of chapter XIV of his *Wonder-working Providence.* He wrote: " For fifteen yeares space to the yeare 1643 . . . the number of ships that transported passengers in this space of time as is supposed is 298. Men, women and children passing over this wide ocean, as near as at present can be gathered, is also supposed to be 21,200 or thereabouts." This seems to be sufficiently detailed to give it the color of careful investigation by the writer and undoubtedly has been the basis for the usual claim that the number of settlers of New England before 1650 were less than 25,000; of whom about 6,000 were original male progenitors of families, the rest being wives, children and female servants.

A number of sententious phrases relate to the use of statistics. Someone has said that figures lie and liars figure. Another has said that there are three kinds of lies: lies, d—d lies, and statistics. As this short paper deals with figures it may come under any one of these subdivisions. It is not claimed that it proves anything definite, but it will give a diagrammatic exposition of the topographical sources of emigration to the New England Colonies up to the close of the Civil War in England. The statements which I here make are based on the records of 2,158 emigrants who arrived in New England prior to 1650, whose English origin is positively or, in some cases, probably known. It comprises emigrants to the six colonies of New England now constituting the six states of this section of the country. Divided into the forty counties of England existing now as then, the tabulation gives the results in numerical precedence, printed at the end of this paper.

From that table it will be seen that Suffolk leads with 200; London and Middlesex, which I have grouped together as being practically a unit, follow with 192; Essex next with 175, and Norfolk is credited with 162. Next in order is Devon

147, Kent 138, Somerset 107, and Dorset 102. I will not read the figures for the remaining thirty-two counties but the full table will show that these county units gradually taper down to the naught, which is placed against the county of Westmoreland. The county seems to have had no share in the glorious privilege of adding a founder to the American nation, at least none is known to me. It is possible, however, that a native of that county may have been smuggled in from some other section of England. Dividing these counties into groups more or less homogenous in character as recognized even to-day in England, it is found that Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, comprising what is known as East Anglia, furnished 537 or twenty-five per cent of the number of emigrants. This section of England contains the stock derived from the Nordic invasions. The West Country (still so called), comprising Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts and Gloucester, comes next with 504 emigrants or approximately twenty-five per cent of the total. What I may designate as the Southeast Channel counties — Kent, Sussex and Hampshire — gave exactly ten per cent of the total. The Home Counties, which comprise those bordering on London or Middlesex, come next with 203 or about ten per cent. This is slightly in excess of those who are known to have come from the city of London and Middlesex and this gives another ten per cent. The Midlands, comprising Leicester, Nottinghamshire, Warwick, Worcester and Derby, contributed a number practically equal to London and Middlesex. The four Northern border counties — Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmoreland — sent exactly one per cent of the total number of emigrants. A Northern group consisting of the four great counties of York, Lincoln, Lancaster and Chester, yields only seven per cent. The remaining seven counties, mostly small in area, contribute a total of about one per cent each. The deductions to be drawn from this are two in number: 1st, that East Anglia and the West Country furnished practically half the emigration to New England, but the destination of these two groups was quite different.

The East Anglian group almost exclusively settled in Massachusetts and trekked into Connecticut. The West Country group generally selected the Provinces of Maine and New

Hampshire as their future home, doubtless influenced by the paramount interest of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was himself a West Countryman. The objects of the two groups were entirely different. The East Anglians came, as they alleged, to find an outlet for their repressed religious liberty. They were the scoff-laws of their day, flouting contumaciously the statutes of the Kingdom. From them we doubtless inherit our indifference to precedent and disregard for authority and the tendency to individualism. The West Countrymen came to carry on trade in the fisheries — " an honest calling," quoth King James, " for it was the trade of the Apostles." The East Anglian came with his Bible in hand and made it the chief purpose of his life. The West Countryman came to continue the normal life of " Merrie England " in his new home, giving religion only its natural proportion of his life. This has given the casual historian the excuse to confer an odor of sanctity on Massachusetts and Connecticut and a blanket of wickedness on Maine and New Hampshire. The right of the West Countryman to this territory was almost by eminent domain. It was the " sea-dogs " of Devon, Somerset, and Bristol who roused this continent from its centuries of slumber. They made the original voyages hither, began the first settlements, and made its possibilities known to the English world. To this pioneer work East Anglia contributed nothing, but in a quarter of a century after colonization had been made possible by the West Countryman, the East Anglians swarmed here like bees, and in a short time overran the country and absorbed all the territory wrenched from the savages by the daring compatriots of Ralegh, Drake, Popham, Gilbert, Weymouth and Pring. A further differentiation existed between these two large groups. The East Anglians came for the alleged reason of securing liberty to worship according to their newly developed ideas of spiritual freedom. The West Countryman was largely influenced by the opportunity to acquire land which was promised to emigrants in lots of one hundred acres each — almost a king's ransom in land — of which he could be owner in fee simple. They were land-hungry after centuries of vassalage to Lords of the Manors, leading a hopeless tenant's life without prospect of ever acquiring independence of these grinding economic conditions. The West Countryman

remained, generally speaking, loyal to his church. Winthrop sent missionaries into Maine as early as 1640 to convert these heathen "sea-dogs." They came back with an empty game bag. "There is no hope of gathering a church for they continue in their superstitious ways," wrote one of the disappointed proselytizers. Translating this Puritan jargon: the "gathering of a church" was a phrase to express the organization of a Puritan congregation. To the West Countrymen his church did not need any gathering, as it was already established and his "superstitious ways" in the Puritan sense were adhesion to the ritual and vestments of the Established Church. From them we may be said to inherit our respect for law and authority, valuation of precedents and whatever of conservatism we may be said to possess as a people.

Some curious and interesting local incidents of emigration have been observed. The largest emigration from one locality naturally belongs to London, from which 137 are known to have come, drawn from nearly every parish in the Metropolis; and yet from the small parish of Hingham in Norfolk, with a population of a few hundred, thirty-five families emigrated to found the present town of Hingham in this state. It must have nearly depopulated this small English parish. Bristol, the second largest seaport, has only twenty-two known families to its credit; but it may be observed that Bristol was more intimately connected in the development of New England, its discovery, colonization and settlement, than London, and, not being affected by the Puritan movement, its citizens had no urge to leave a contented community. Rowley, a small parish in Yorkshire, sent thirteen families, but these can be attributed to the influence of Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, shepherd of the flock which followed him in his migration. Other influences like this could be multiplied, as the thirteen families from Boston known to be the personal adherents of John Cotton. It is somewhat difficult to account for the like number of families from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the largest number from that section of England, but probably a similar reason explains it. So the emigration from Lancashire can be attributed to the widespread influence of Richard Mather and Rev. Ralph Smith, who were undoubtedly the spiritual magnets which drew

along with them many families from Liverpool and Manchester. A dozen families from the little parish of Bishop Stortford, Hertfordshire, is a conspicuous example of the influence of another famous clergyman, Rev. John Norton.

Another phase in the psychology of emigration is found in what might be called group emigration. In scores of small parishes, not known to be in any way connected with prominent clerical emigrants, it is found that there will be anywhere from five to ten emigrants from a single hamlet, thus showing the influence of contagion. As far as known, on the civil side prominent leaders, like Winthrop, had practically no influence in stimulating emigration from their home parishes, as only two persons besides himself are known to me to have come from Groton. I have left out the Pilgrims, because they were an individual group, for some years expatriated from England, and as far as my knowledge goes had no influence whatever on subsequent emigration to New England up to the great movement of 1630 which resulted in the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They did not apparently desire or encourage any settlement within their jurisdiction, unless it was carefully labeled with the Pilgrim trademark; in fact, they rather resented the idea of having neighbors.

It is not pretended that these figures convey any important moral, spiritual, ethnical or fiscal lesson of value; but in these days of statistics and tabulation it is not well that historical research should be without its exposition of averages and totals. The only inference that I can draw from it is that the twenty-five per cent of religious enthusiasts from East Anglia finally leavened the whole mass and that if this section of the country were to be renamed, it might properly be called New East Anglia.

EMIGRATION BY COUNTIES

Suffolk	200	Lincoln	54	Northumberland	17
Lon. & Midsx.	192	Warwick	51	Salop	13
Essex	175	Bucks	50	Stafford	10
Norfolk	162	Surrey	42	Rutland	9
Devon	147	Bedford	41	Cornwall	9
Kent	138	Lancashire	34	Chester	7
Somerset	107	Leicester	32	Hereford	7
Dorset	102	Oxford	26	Hunts	7
Herts	90	Sussex	22	Durham	3
Wilts	79	Cambridge	22	Cumberland	1
Gloucester	60	Berks	21	Westmoreland	0
York	58	Notts	20		
Hants	56	Worcester	19		2158
Northants	56	Derby	18		

EMIGRATION BY GROUPS OF COUNTIES

West Country		East Anglia		London & Midsx.	
Devon	147	Norfolk	162	London	137
Cornwall	9	Suffolk	200	Middlesex	55
Somerset	107	Essex	175		192
Wilts	79		537		
Dorset	102				
Gloucester	60				
	504				

Home Counties		Midlands		Channel	
Bedford	41	Leicester	32	Kent	138
Bucks	50	Notts	20	Sussex	22
Herts	90	Northants	56	Hants	56
Surrey	42	Warwick	51		216
Berks	21	Worcester	19		
	244	Derby	18		
			196		

Border Group		Northern Group		Other (7) Counties	
Northumberland	17	York	58	Rutland	9
Durham	3	Lincoln	54	Stafford	10
Cumberland	1	Lancaster	32	Salop	13
Westmoreland	0	Chester	7	Hunts	7
	21		151	Cambridge	22
				Oxford	26
				Hereford	7
					94

Louis the Sixteenth
From the original by Antoine François Callet
in the Museo del Prado, Madrid

the time of our War for Independence would

[1] Don [illegible] de Aranda (1719–1798).

	Percentages		Percentages
East Anglia	25	Midlands	9
West Country	24	Border Group	7
Channel	10	Northern Group	1
Home	12	Other 7 counties	3
London	9		
			100

Dr. Shattuck presented on behalf of Miss Mary Lothrop, photographs of Senator Lodge and Bishop Lawrence, taken at their graduation in 1871.

Mr. W. Cameron Forbes presented a photograph, taken in 1926, of Aguinaldo and his native troops receiving Mr. Forbes.

Portrait of Louis XVI

Mr. Ford in a note stated that when passing through the Museo del Prado, in Madrid, he saw a portrait of Louis XVI of France which the King had given to the Count d'Aranda,[1] the Spanish Ambassador at the French court from 1773 to 1787. Remembering the interesting account of the lost French portraits of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, prepared by Mr. Charles Warren and printed in the *Proceedings*, LIX. 45, he gave particular attention to the Madrid example and noted that it answered in every particular — height, frame, and ornament on the top of the frame — to the description given by Mr. Warren. The practice of presenting portraits to favored persons had long been followed by royalty and it is probable that much the same form was followed where equality of rank or social position set a standard. A snuff-box with a portrait on the lid would suffice as a lesser gift; but the political relations between France and Spain at the time of our War for Independence would make a gift to the Spanish Ambassador almost equal to a gift to the Spanish monarch. France recognized the Independence of the British American colonies in rebellion against the mother country and, as an independent power, a gift to it would naturally be of the best. It is reasonable to suppose that the Aranda por-

[1] Don Pedro Pablo *Abarca de Bolea*, conde dè Aranda (1719–1798).

trait is like that presented to the Continental Congress, and for that reason it is reproduced as a pendant or complement to the Warren article. The painter of the Madrid piece was Antoine François Callet (1741–1823), little known outside of France, but there recognized as a painter of historical subjects and portraits, and of ceilings in the gallery of Apollo of the Louvre and in the Luxembourg. The photograph of the picture was obtained of the Museo del Prado through the courtesy of the American Embassy.

Mr. FORD submitted a note on

HARRIS'S "PROTESTANT TUTOR."

In the British Museum, under press-mark 19992, I found a copy of *The Protestant Tutor* of Benjamin Harris, printed in 1679, and a first edition so far as can be asserted. The volume has the book-plate of the Right Honorable Thomas Grenville, which gives it a stamp of authenticity beyond question. In my examination of the imperfect volume in the American Antiquarian Society[1] I undertook to reconstruct the missing leaves from the somewhat full advertisement of the contents of the *Tutor* in Harris's paper, announcing the first issue. That attempt proves to have been only partially successful and I am now able to give a better description of this bibliographical curiosity, which has so interesting a connection with a Boston printer. The following collation of the Grenville item may be compared with the contents of the Worcester volume as given in the *Proceedings:*

Frontispiece. Wood-cut of the King in oval, with the royal arms below.

Title [i], verso [ii] blank.

Advertisement [iii], verso [iv] blank.

To the Right Honourable James Earl | of Doncaster and Dalkeith, Eldest Son | to the most Illustrious Protestant | Prince, James Duke of | Monmouth. [v–viii.]

The Preface. | To all Protestant Parents, School- | Masters and School-Mistresses | of Children, Greeting. [ix–xiii.]

Burning of the Pope. [xiv.]

[1] *Proceedings*, LVII. 49.

An Account of the Burning the Pope | at Temple-Bar in London, No- | vember 17, 1679. 1–8.

The Roman small Letters, etc. 9–11.

The Lords Prayer etc. 12–17.

Lessons for Children, etc. 18–42.

Mr. John Rogers, etc. 43–51.

Cut: Popish tyranny and Cruelty. [52.]

A Prospect of Popery, | or, | A short View of the Cruelties, Treasons, and | Massacres committed by the Papists since the | beginning of the Reign of Queen Mary. 53–56.

The Spanish Invasion by the Pa- | pists in the Year 1588. 57–61.

Cut: The Gunpowder Treason. 62.

The Gun-powder Treason Con- | trived by the Papists, Nov. 5. | 1605. 63–66.

The Massacre of Ireland, acted | by the Papists upon the Pro- | testants in that Kingdom, in | the Year, 1642. 67–71.

Cut: "a masecree" and "London in Flames." 72.

The Massacre of Paris, acted by the | French Papists upon the Protestants | in that Kingdom, and the Cruelties of | the Papists since in Piedmont, Li- | thuania and Poland, in the Year | 1655 and 1656. 73–77.

The Burning of London by the Papists, | Septemb. 2. 1666. 78–81 [p. 79 is wrongly paged 76].

Cut: Oates, Bedloe, etc. 82.

A Brief Account of the Horrid and | Damnable Plot in the Year 1678. Con- | trived by the Papists for the Murder- | ing of His Majesty, Destruction of | the Protestant Religion, and Over- | throwing of the Government by Law | Established. With a Relation of the | Murder of Sir Edmund-Bury God- | frey. 83–93.

A Paraphrase on St. Luke, the 16th. | Chapter, from the 19th. verse, to the | End Being a real Scripture-Dialogue | between the most happy Lazarus and | the tormented Dives. 94–98.

Words and Proper Names from | Two to Seven Sillables, both | whole and divided into Sil- | lables, for the more easie In- | structing of Children in True | Spelling. 99–113.

A Catechism. 114–97 [131].

A Little Book of | Martyrs, | or, | The History of the | Kings of England, | with an Account of the Cru- | elties exercised by the Pope | and his Clergy, for several | Hundred Years. 98–117.

The Threefold State of a Christi- | an Discovered, viz. By Nature, | by Grace, and in Glory. 118–128.

A short Account of the Varieties | of Popish Tortures practised | by those bloody Idolaters upon | poor Protestants. 131–135 [there are no pages 129, 130].

Brief Remarks upon the Wicked Lives | of several Popes of Rome, and of di- | vers ill Accidents that have happened | to some of them. 136–143.

A Prayer for Children in the Morning [and other prayers]. 143–146. Finis.

The arrangement of the captions to the various divisions and the lining of the articles themselves show the work had been wholly reset for the second edition — assuming that the American Antiquarian Society volume is a second edition. The wood-cuts are the same, as economy would dictate. Comparing the actual contents or reading matter of the two copies we find that we have gained:

A frontispiece.
An " Advertisement."
Dedication to the Son of the Duke of Monmouth.
The Preface.
Cut of the Gunpowder Treason and the full text of the article upon it.
The full text of the Dialogue between Dives and Lazarus.
A short Account of the Varieties of Popish Tortures.
Brief Remarks upon the Lives of the Popes.
A Prayer for Children.

The last three items are not found in the American Antiquarian Society edition and the following items found in that issue did not appear in the edition of 1679;

The Prayer of King Edward the Sixth.
The Monument.
A Dialogue Between an Apostate to the Church of Rome, etc.
A Copy-Book.
Directions for Writing.
The Figures and numeral Letters [and perhaps other pieces].

The difference in the number of pages in the two editions offers no certain means of comparing the contents, for there were changes in style as well as in matter. Even the collation of the 1679 volume developed problems which cannot be solved. The signatures ran as follows: A^{32} B^{32} C^{32} D^{16} E^{32} D^{32} E^{14} — with two D signatures, one of sixteen and the other of thirty-two pages, and no signature F. The second D signature properly begins with page 97 and runs to page 128, but is inserted between page 130 of E and page 131 of G. The catchword on page 130 is " 43. Q." and is properly taken up on the inserted page 97; and page 128, the last of the inserted pages, has the catchword " A." which is proper to page 131, the first page of signature E. The missing leaf, or pages 129 and 130, was needed to give sixteen pages to signature E. The

signatures in the Worcester copy run evenly — thirty-two pages to each signature.

The erratic arrangement in the London copy suggests some interesting conjectures. Is the British Museum a true first edition? May it not have happened that before the book appeared it contained something in signature D or F which, some friend of Harris warned him, was injudicious and might call down upon him the displeasure of the church or authorities? To meet that objection he suppressed sixteen pages of signature D and in a hasty make-up inserted a new signature D in place of F. With such an explanation the Museum volume is a true first issue, because in contents it answers to Harris's announcement of the publication, an announcement made immediately after the book had come from the press. Otherwise we must suppose the issue of a volume, not announced by the author and publisher, and after issue suppressed, altered in contents and in a modified form made public. Harris had his own newspaper as an advertising medium, where to him advertising was cheaper than elsewhere. His most reasonable action would be to call his wares there and at once, without resorting to the trick of issuing a somewhat violent treatment of a public question without announcement. If the confusing of pages and signatures in the edition of 1679 were due to printer's errors, they occurred upon a scale not easily to be matched in that day.

We are now able to give the two new articles of the preliminary matter, beginning with the

Advertisement.

THOSE highly approved and only *true* | *Spirits of Scurvygrass,* both plain | and Golden, famous for their Admira- | ble Cures in the *Scurvy Dropsie,* and | several other General Distempers, are | exactly and faithfully prepared and | Sold by the first Authour *Rob. Bateman,* | at his house in *Pauls Chain,* near *Do-* | *ctors Commons, London,* with Printed | directions for their use, the Bottles are | all Sealed with his Coat of Arms, The Half-Moon and Ermins, to prevent | Counterfeits, Price 1s. each Bottle. They are also to be Sold by *Benjamin Harris* Author and Publisher of this | Book at the *Stationers Arms* in the | Piazza of the *Royal Exchange* and at | his Shop against the *Kings-Bench* in | *Southwark.*

[Dedication.]

To the Right Honourable *James* Earl | of*Doncaster* and *Dalkeith,* Eldest Son | to the most Illustrious *Protestant* | Prince, JAMES Duke of | MONMOUTH.

My Lord,

Since the Papists *who have of | late so notoriously appeared to | be the Grand and Implacable | Enemies of this Kingdom, by De- | signing the destruction of His Ma- | jesties Person and Government, and | the* Protestant Religion, *left to us | by our Ancestors, have been so wicked- | ly Industrious to promote their curs- | ed Opinions among the Ignorant, | as they have demonstrated by that* [*vi*] *vast number of* Popish *Primers, | Catechisms, Manuals, and a multi- | tude of such* Romish *Trash and | Trumpery, which they intended to | have dispersed like a General In- | fection among the youth of this Na- | tion, if they had not been happily | seized, and justly committed to the | Flames, since the discovery of the | Damnable and Horrid Popish Plot; | I am confident it cannot be unacceptable to your Lordship, if I endeavour | to strengthen and confirm this young | Generation in* Protestant *Princi- | ples, by the methods whereby they in- | tended to debauch them; This My | Lord is the Design of this little* [*vii*] *Book, which being seriously consi- | dered, will discover an horrible pro- | spect of the Tyranny and cruelty of | that Bloody Religion, and will ob- | lige all good Christians and Prote- | stants, by all lawfull ways and means | to oppose to the utmost the putting | our necks under that slavish Yoke, | which neither we nor our Fathers | were able to bear, and which of all | judgements we may beseech Almigh- | ty God to deliver us from; which is the daily prayer of | My Lord, | Your Lordships most | Humble Servant*

Benjamin Harris [*viii*]

My Lord, my weak Endeavours out have took
The Sum and Substance of *The Martyrs Book;*
Arotection and Acceptance if you give,
It shall, as shall your Lordship ever live.
My Lord, the lives & deaths of Saints & Kings,
This little Book unto your Lordship sings.
For pardon and protection I intreat,
The Volumes *Little* my Presumption *Great.*

B. H.

The Museum possesses two later editions, one of which was also of Harris's brew:

The | Protestant Tutor, | Instructing Youth and Others, | In the compleat Method of | Spelling, Reading, and Writing, | True English: | Also | Discovering to them the Notorious Errors, | Damnable Doctrines, and Cruel Massa- | cres of the Bloody Papists, which Eng- | land may expect from a | Popish Successor. | To which is prefix'd, | A Timely Memorial | to all | Trve Protestants: | Demonstrating the Certainty of a horrid and | Damnable Popish Plot now carrying on in | Great-Britain, in order to Destroy His Majesty | King George and Royal Family, Introduce | a Popish Successor, and involve these Kingdoms | in Blood and Fire. | Likewise | The Most Gracious Declaration | for | Liberty of Conscience, | Published by Order of the King and Council. | London: Printed and Sold by B. Harris, at the Golden | Boar's-Head in Grace-Church Street, 1716. pp. 8–120.

The exact number of pages cannot be given as the copy of the book is imperfect. There is prefixed an engraved page of writing and one of occupations. The "royal declaration" mentioned in the title, dated September 22, 1714, is printed on the verso of the title, and on page 3 begins: A Timely | Memorial | to all | True Protestants: . . . , which runs to page 8 but is imperfect. A new page 3 closes the gap and begins "without a Vowel you cannot". . . , indicating the loss of all the preliminary matter which usually proves so valuable in summarizing or in declaring the intention of the book. The cuts are those used in 1679 and the Rogers' verses are retained. It is evident, however, that much had happened since 1679 and the compilation could hardly have appealed to the public as strongly in 1716, when political conditions had become more stable, as it did in 1679 and following years. As a political tract it must have had no force; as a "primer," or first speller and reader, it must have lost much of its hold, because other and more convenient teaching manuals had been prepared. Spellers, primers and "Secretary Guides" were at hand and to beat the tom-tom on Roman Catholicism met with only moderate response.

A still later issue, which the catalogue of the British Museum conjectures to have been made in 1720, so widely differs from the Harris as not to be worthy of collation. It was called "The Protestant Tutor" and contained "Bishop

Usher's Prophecies" (pp. 104 and 105) as a novelty. The "Kings Declaration" and "Timely Memorial" are also there, and the book contained 112 pages, in a format different from that of the Harris output. The cuts were also new. Evidently the "Tutor" had had its day.

ELIAS BOUDINOT TO SAMUEL BAYARD

PHILADELPHIA, February 24, 1795.

MY VERY DEAR SIR, — This moment coming in from Congress, I am informed of a Vessel going, in about an hour, for Liverpool; and Susan being requested by her Husband to write a Line by this Vessel (and he is to write by one that goes in a Week or two). The poor Girl is worn out with her attendance last night at a Ball given for the President's birth Night, and attended with a violent Storm. Therefore I am to let you know in a few Lines that we are all well and longing to hear from you. It is now near ninety days since your arrival in London, and not a Syllable from you, and had it not been from a Letter from Mr. Davy's Brother, who mentions you very minutely, we should have given you up for lost. At New Rochelle your good Father had almost given you up, and had no comfort night or Day till I informed him of Mr. Davy's Letter. We have had accounts of the Treaty being signed, by Letters from Mr. Jay to his Brother, by Letters to Merchants, the King's Speech, and indeed from every Quarter but the right one. Congress is about dissolving without seeing the Treaty, which is a very untoward Circumstance, and will be the Cause of great delay, Expence and Trouble, as a new Meeting of the Senate must be called, when it arrives. There has been some mismanagement in sending forward the Copies of the Treaties, or some one would have arrived by this Time. The Insurrection is wholly and entirely suppressed, and in the End has benefited the Government beyond anything that could have been expected. The Opposition party in Congress have been greatly changed by it and our Session is ending greatly to the Advantage of the Union. We have passed a Systematic Law for the Reduction of the public Debt in less than thirty years and put the Ways and Means out of the Power of future Legislatures, by an absolute and positive conveyance of the same to the Commissioners of the sinking fund in Trust for this important Purpose. Messrs. Hamilton and Knox have resigned and Messrs. Wolcott and Pickering are in their room. Mr. H[amilton.] has compleated his System and retires with great eclat. Our Democrats are expiring fast and there

are few that now avow their Measures. We have lately had a Day of Thanksgiving and Prayer by proclamation of the President, and it has been kept by all Denominations and all Parties in a manner that do them great honor. Dr. Smith of Princeton preached for his Brother and delivered the most elegant political Sermon ever delivered in this City, to a very large and polite Audience. Never was a Sermon delivered here with more applause. It is ordered to be printed, and in an half an hour (in our House) 300 Copies were subscribed for. It will be out of the Press by Saturday Night. I wish I had a Copy to send you. We hope Mr. Jay will be here by the first of April, on Account of the Election in New York. Mr. Burr has given up all Hopes and Mr. Yates is his only Antagonist.

I received a Letter from Mr. Pintard yesterday he is very well as are all your Friends there, at New York, Brunswick and this Place. Mr. and Mrs. Kirkpatrick left us this morning.

I have some offers for our Lands, as well as those on Ohio. If you sell on your side of the Water, you had best make a saving in Case of my having sold here, before notice of the one you may make. This would be acting *ex magna Cautela*. Mr. John Penn died a few days ago. We are in expectation of a Letter from you by every man that comes in. I have declined to return to Congress, and therefore expect now to aim at Otium cum dignitate. We return to Elizabeth the first good Roads. . . .

I am, my dear Sir, with every Sentiment of Respect and Esteem, your very affect. Friend and most obedt. Hble Servt.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

[Addressed:] Samuel Bayard, Esqr., at the Pennsylvania Coffee House, London. Per the *Amiable* via Liverpool.

BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON TO ISAAC GOUVERNEUR[1]

1 April, 1797.

DEAR SIR, — On my return from Court late last Night I found your favor of yesterday. I fear there is but little prospect at present of coming to a compromise with Mr. Le Guen. In a conversation with Coll. Hamilton on the subject the day before yesterday, I took upon me to propose that Le Guen should without any further delay receive the proceeds of the Cotton and Indigo either in London or in this Country, and also the notes of the Jews, and pressed upon him the advantage which would result to his client from such

[1] From the Washburn Autographs, 010.7, f. 23.

a settlement. Mr. Hamilton answered with some warmth that Le Guen would not consent to the arrangement; that he was determined to lose the saddle or win the horse, and at the same time informed me that he intended to move at the next term which will be held at Albany for a new tryal. I cannot think he will succeed in this application. If he does, it will eventually do him no good. It were to be wished, however, that the business was finally settled. It must be unpleasant and irksome to you to have a controversy of the kind on your hands. I think however you had best defer writing to Le Guen, at least for a few days. By that time he may be in better humor. In the beginning of the week I will see you on the subject and in the meantime reflect on what had best be your proposal. With respect, Sir, I am your very obed. servt.

BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON.

SAMUEL S. WILDE TO TIMOTHY BIGELOW [1]

HALLOWELL, Jany. 2d. 1810.

DEAR SIR, — I trouble you with this at the request of General Chandler, who is about making an application to the Legislature, as he informs me, in favour of the Academy at Monmouth to obtain some assistance to enlarge their funds. I told the General that I could give you no information that would be in any way useful, that you know much more of the subject than I do, and that no man can be more disposed, than you are, to aid the Literary distributions of the State; but he seems to think that I can do some good by stating to you, what I know relative to the state of the Academy and their want of funds. From all the information I have on this point, I can say that some additional funds seem to be necessary to maintain the Academy on a decent footing. I believe General Chandler and the Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood have been very zealous to give all the aid in their power to the distribution; but I need not inform you how difficult it is to do anything considerable in this way, in a part of the Country where every one has a use for all the property he has, and needs a little more. If the Legislature could make a small Grant, without injury to the general interests of the Community, I am satisfied it would be an useful measure. I am, dear Sir, respy and truly, Your friend and servant

SAM. S. WILDE.

[Addressed:] Honorable Timothy Bigelow, Speaker of House Rep'tives, Boston. Fav'd per Gen. Chandler.

[1] From the Washburn Autographs, 010.7, f. 41.

A.W. Elson & Co. Belmont, Mass.

Paul Revere Frothingham

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MEMOIR

OF

PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM

By ROBERT GRANT

Paul Revere Frothingham, a distinguished and much loved preacher of the Unitarian faith, a patriotic citizen, and a member of this Society since March 15, 1915, had theologians among his ancestors in both the male and female lines. His father, Thomas Bumstead Frothingham (1819–1880), himself a merchant, was a son of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, D.D. (1793–1870), Harvard College, 1811, Minister of the First Church of Boston (Unitarian) from 1815 to 1850, and an uncle was Rev. Octavius Brooks Frothingham (1822–1895), Harvard College, 1843, with whom he had a close and sympathetic friendship. His mother, Anne Pearson Lunt (1830–1896) was a daughter of William Parsons Lunt, D.D. (1805–1857), Harvard College, 1823, for many years minister of the Church of the Presidents in Quincy.

In the chapter of *Boston Unitarianism* (1820–50) from the pen of his uncle Octavius, entitled "Three Types of Unitarianism," appears this passage: "To this last class belonged the Unitarians I would describe, a class of men who lay between Channing and Parker, lacking the fervent spirituality of the one, and the impassioned earnestness of the other; men of quiet culture and scholarship, of elegant tastes, refined manners, and dignified conduct; social, affable, amiable, kind, gentle, but not in the smallest degree volcanic, or sulphureous, or explosive with wrath, however 'holy.' This type of clergyman is admirably depicted in Dr. Frothingham's tribute to his friend, Dr. Lunt, prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society."[1] And Octavius goes on to quote from his father's tribute as follows:

[1] Proceedings, III. 207–13.

In theology, Dr. Lunt stood far on the right wing, though not on the extreme right, of the Unitarian denomination. Reverence for antiquity and established belief, for the early church and the sacred associations of the past, wrought strongly within him. He loved to hold fast, so far as he could, to the language of Scripture, and to the doctrine, liberally interpreted, which had come down from the fathers. He was more ready to accept, than anxious to define, hallowed phrases. While he was open to new light, he was jealous of innovations. He shrank from all approach to the subversive speculations of the newest criticism. While he repelled, with every power of his intellect, every instinct of his conscience, every throb of his heart, the dogmas of Calvinistic divinity, yet his Puritan soul leaned back, as far as it dared, towards ancient formulas. . . . The political and reformatory movements of the day he was slow to admit into his pulpit. Controversial religion was not to his liking. The Biblical neologies of our new times were an offense, if not an alarm, to him. He held the literal Word reverently dear; although he endeavored to give it an expansive scope, and sought underneath it the most spiritual significances.

If Paul Revere Frothingham's (maternal) grandfather, Dr. Lunt, stood " far on the right wing," there was counter-balancing in the position of this uncle Octavius, ordained, four years after graduation from Harvard, pastor of the North Church (Unitarian) at Salem, Massachusetts. But far from permanently established. His exodus reveals him preaching in Jersey City, New Jersey, in 1855–59. Thence he removed to New York to become the pastor of a congregation that in 1860 was organized as the Third Unitarian Congregational Church and represented the most radical branch of his denomination. He dissolved this Society in 1879 and, after his return from Europe in 1881, " formally withdrew from specific connection with any church and devoted himself to literature in Boston." But, though a pious son, he would have been the first to prefer his more conventional, if more distinguished father's hymns to that father's theology. Of them he writes: " They are sacred songs. The best of N. L. Frothingham's pieces have this shadowy background of religious sentiment, and he liked nothing that did not show it, though it must not be too conspicuous. Then he had a strong distaste for Thackeray, whom he thought worldly and flippant; and for

Goethe, who was too much of a pagan for him. On the other hand, he could not bear Mrs. Browning, who seemed to him to be saponaceous. He required moral fibre, and on this account despised Coleridge, who in his judgment, was not only selfish, but pretentious, and willing to shine in borrowed plumage. Scott, and Southey, and Schiller were favorites with him; but Shelley, Byron, Heine! " Yet, though Octavius gives copious extracts from the sacred songs, he does not happen to include in that specific commentary the hymn which kept both his father's theology and verse vital for his grandson's generation, and which was sung both at the installation of the Reverend Paul Revere Frothingham as Minister of the Arlington Street Church, Boston, October 14, 1900, and also at the 25th anniversary of that ceremony, December 17, 1925.

O God, whose presence glows in all,
Within, around us and above,
Thy word we bless, Thy name we call,
Whose word is truth, whose name is love.

The author of this hymn was himself the son of Ebenezer Frothingham, a crockery-merchant and appraiser of taxes in Marshall's Lane, near the Boston Stone, and Joanna Langdon. The author's wife was Ann Gorham Brooks, eldest daughter of Hon. Peter C. Brooks, to whom Octavius Frothingham devotes another chapter under the caption " The Unitarian Layman." Of him we read: " His dress cost him but little. His table was plain, substantial, bountiful. There was always wine with the meats. He rose early in the morning, always went out in summer before breakfast, was scrupulous about his private habits, kept regular hours, and indulged in no injurious excitements. His tastes were frugal, his wishes easily satisfied. One smiles to think how little was sufficient for comfort and happiness in those days, when existence was unambitious and solid. How charmingly innocent all this sounds today, when people are so full of pride and emulation! " Two sisters of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham's wife were Mrs. Edward Everett (Charlotte Gray Brooks) and Mrs. Charles Francis Adams, senior, (Abigail Gray Brooks).

In the course of his sympathetic and understanding estimate of Paul Revere Frothingham in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for March, 1927, Dr. Samuel M. Crothers writes:

His ideals of the ministry were, I think, largely influenced by the experience of his distinguished uncle Octavius Brooks Frothingham, the most brilliant of the radicals who seceded from the Unitarian body and formed the Free Religious Association of America. Octavius Frothingham established an independent Society in New York and gathered around him men of light and leading.

After twenty years he began to feel the need of elements which he had hitherto undervalued. In his farewell address he dropped a bomb-shell into the camp of the advanced thinkers. Without retracting any of his liberal opinions he confessed that he was tired of being a free lance and felt that the time had come to emphasize the need of closer fellowship with the Church universal. "Today," he said, "it seems to me the last word of dogmatic radicalism has been spoken from this place. It seems to me that what we need now is organization. I will not say a creed, but I will say something like a denomination, with certain pretty well-understood articles upon which earnest faithful people can agree, can coöperate."

Paul Frothingham began where his uncle left off. He took liberty for granted. The battle for free thought was, so far as he was concerned, fought and won. To organize spiritual freedom and to make it effective in the lives of ordinary men and women was the difficult task to which he gave himself.

Paul Frothingham was born July 6, 1864, at Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts. His mother's sister, Lucretia Lunt, had married Paul Joseph Revere, who fell at Gettysburg "following a brother who the year before had laid down his life at Antietam," and he was named Paul Revere for this maternal uncle by marriage. "A 'real boy,' like the rest of us," so writes his brother Langdon, "joining heartily in all our games, perfectly at home in the water and on it, a splendid skipper of the Cape catboat, who sailed many a race in the early days of the Beverly Yacht Club on Buzzard's Bay." His education began at Mrs. Walker's private school, Jamaica Plain, the Boston Latin School and Stone's private school, from which he entered Harvard in the Class of 1886. He graduated from the College *cum laude*. He was a pole vaulter on the track team.

He immediately entered the Harvard Divinity School, from which he received the S.T.B. degree in 1889, and also from the College in the same year the degree of A.M. But in the summers of 1887 and '88 he was already preaching at the Unitarian Chapel at Tiverton, Rhode Island. In October, 1889, at the age of twenty-five, he was appointed an assistant to Rev. William J. Potter, Minister of the First Congregational Society (Unitarian) New Bedford, whom later he succeeded. Here he remained until 1900, declining calls to pastorates both in Chicago and Washington. On June 14, 1892, he was married to Miss Anna Clapp of Pittsfield and New York. Glowing reports of his ability as a preacher and of the affection and esteem felt for him by his parishioners in New Bedford led to an invitation in 1900, which he decided to accept, to become the minister of the Arlington Street Church, Boston, in succession to Rev. John Cuckson. This

Church in Dr. Channing's day was known as the Federal Street Church, and it had been founded in Boston in 1730 by Scotch Presbyterians. A barn at what is now Federal and Franklin Streets, later remodeled and enlarged, served as a meeting place until a new meeting-house was built in 1774. In this the Massachusetts delegates met and accepted the Federal Constitution in 1788. A third meeting-house served the congregation from 1809 to 1859. In the vestry of this meeting-house the American Unitarian Association was founded in 1825. The Church then moved to Arlington Street, and the present meeting-house was dedicated in 1860. It is one of the noblest types of the style made famous by the London churches of Sir Christopher Wrenn and his successors.

The ministers in succession to Dr. Channing had been Ezra Stiles Gannett, 1824–1871; John F. W. Ware, 1872–1881; Brooke Herford, 1882–1892; John Cuckson, 1892–1900, under all of whom and including Paul Revere Frothingham, 1900–1926, the writer of this memoir has sat with tolerable assiduity from boyhood to old age, except for a few years of deviation during a part of Dr. Cuckson's term of service.

The quarter of a century, plus a single year — for he died suddenly on November 27, 1926, while still apparently vigorous in every respect — which covered Dr. Frothingham's ministry at the Arlington Street Church, was the period when he

became publicly known as a fearless but fundamentally reasonable and sympathetic interpreter of Unitarian doctrine. But doctrine in his sermons was always secondary to a desire to aid his listeners to find their way through the jungle of impediments which turn modern men and women away from goodness. Spirituality to him meant first of all right decision on the daily issues which confront an intelligent community seeking to do God's will, and, though rarely if ever dogmatic, he never hesitated to point out those issues and to indicate the fallacious choice. Yet the most potent effect of his earnestness, even when he felt most intensely, was his never failing wish to understand and willingness to tolerate another's point of view. This was true both of daily personal contact and his attitude towards other communions. As Dr. George A. Gordon eloquently said on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his installation at Arlington Street Church:

> Dr. Frothingham is two things of great value in the higher life of this City. He is a man with a distinctive and decided view of the Christian religion and of the world's most urgent need. He is at the same time able and willing to transcend his inherited and personal point of view, and to stand in the fellowship of all who worship God, and serve mankind. *He stands on the bridge of his own great liner, and at the same time looks upon the liners plowing through the same seas, towards the same or similar goals, and salutes them, bidding them Godspeed.* (Italics mine.)

Paul Frothingham endeared himself to his parishioners and to all with whom he was closely associated by his human quality. He exhaled none of the aroma of the pronounced cleric; but met both the redeemed and the unredeemed alike upon a footing of everyday manly good fellowship which took to itself neither pretension nor ceremony. No one was more alive to what was going on in mundane affairs than he and none more appreciative of genial, clean mirth and agreeable companionship. He was wholly free from self-importance and was warmly appreciative of the talents or virtues of his friends. His convictions, though never obtruded, could not be trifled with or trampled on, however. I might have forgotten having said to him one day in defence of a " pretty good world " that preferred to be let alone, " I wish that I might

never hear the word reform uttered again," had I not been rebuked, though not by name, in next Sunday morning's sermon. To him my impetuous ebullition seemed sacrilege, for nothing was dearer to both his heart and conscience than the hope of a constantly improving world and dwellers therein moved to make it better. It is significant that the text for his twenty-fifth anniversary sermon was: "And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise: God having provided some better thing for us, that they, without us, should not be made perfect." Hebrews xi, 39, 40, and he elucidated the paradox by saying: "And yet, there is no mistake about this utterance. The unknown author of the famous faith-chapter in the Epistle to the Hebrews, meant precisely what he said. And he said that while you, and I, and all of us, are helped, and shaped, and guided, by the great and good of former ages whom we remember and rejoice to praise, it is also true that those same saints, reformers and upbuilders are dependent upon us to make them, by our actions, whether more and more perfect, or of less and less account."

It is easy to understand, therefore, that he was not content with the four walls of any tabernacle. His zeal for righteousness constantly sought lay and patriotic outlets outside the decorous constraints of the pulpit. All public questions which seemed to involve an ethical principle absorbed him. He chafed, though never with impatience, at our slowness in entering the great war after the sinking of the *Lusitania,* for he recognized from the first that the triumph of German militarism would mean the death of liberty. And after the conflict was over, his love of peace, his never discouraged though constantly disappointed hope that mankind would by means of the League of Nations eventually make war impracticable, and that his country should sit at the Council table, became his foremost practical aim. Dr. Park said truly in his tribute before this Society that "one of the great sorrows of his life was that we were not in the League of Nations." Year after year he visited Geneva in order to acquire knowledge and inspiration by which to overcome the political bias of his countrymen.

He was a member of the Board of Preachers to Harvard

University, 1899–1902, 1909, 1910, and continuously since 1914 until his death. He was elected an Overseer of the University, 1904–10, and again for the term 1918–24. He took an active part in bringing about the union of the Andover Theological and the Harvard Divinity Schools. Harvard conferred upon him in 1915 the honorary degree of S.T.D. On the occasion of his twenty-fifth anniversary President Lowell said of him: "The cares of a great parish are enough to tax any man's strength, but he has given of himself freely and you have lent him for the service of the University. During one-half of his pastorate here he has been an Overseer and during more than a half of the time he has been a member of the Board of Preachers. Thousands of young men, not only there but in other colleges, have listened to his powerful sermons and many of them have consulted him in their perplexities."

Dr. Frothingham was also a Trustee of the Perkins Institution for the Blind; President of the Massachusetts Cremation Society; a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Vice President of the Greater Boston Federation of Churches; a director of the Associated Charities (now the Family Welfare League), and a member of various other literary, charitable and social organizations. As a member of this Society he communicated Memoirs of Dean George Hodges, Edward Everett Hale, and William W. Crapo. He was a frequent attendant at the meetings of the Society and while preparing his biography of Edward Everett, read several of the chapters before our members. In March, 1923, he addressed the Society on the Assembly of the League of Nations.

His biography of Edward Everett, orator and statesman, appeared in 1925; a labor of love on which he had been engaged for a number of years. A sister of his grandmother Frothingham was Edward Everett's wife, and though William Everett their son had always intended to write his father's life, he had failed to do so. To me the volume seems an excellent piece of literary work, lucid and readable, justly eulogistic, and yet impartial. He sets in relief his brilliant subject's talents and public services, without claiming for him the immortality already accorded him while alive. It is

edifying to recall what a very eminent man Edward Everett was in his day and that no American, before his time or since, has (after preliminary canters as Pastor of the famous Brattle St. Church at nineteen and Professor of the Greek language at Harvard University at twenty-one,) held in stately sequence all the offices of Member of Congress, Governor of Massachusetts, Minister at the Court of St. James's, President of Harvard College, Secretary of State (in succession to Daniel Webster) and United States Senator. It required a sage and discriminating biographer not to be lured into superlatives by such a tiara of major titles reinforced by rare eloquence. To quote Dr. Crothers again: "There was a certain audacity in his choice of a subject, for Everett after enjoying great fame in his lifetime had become a shadowy figure to this generation. Nevertheless Frothingham succeeded in making him live again. He did this without resorting to the means by which biographers of the new school add brilliancy to their work by ironical touches. A certain old-fashioned stateliness in Everett's manner invites irreverent comment, but Frothingham wisely abstained. He points out fairly enough the limitations of one who was a notable and versatile American and very influential in his day."

Had Frothingham lived longer his literary tastes would have asserted themselves more prominently. He had already asked to be relieved from a portion of the church routine in order to have more leisure. Although the ardent tributes paid to him at the twenty-fifth anniversary of his installation in the Arlington Street Church gave fresh zest to the vision that here was the ideal site for a Unitarian Cathedral, he allowed those who knew him intimately to gather that the time was not far off when he would seek at least a larger division of labors, if not retirement, in order to write. This proceeded from no lack of vigor, for to all appearances he was as strong as ever, but from the preference, which was perhaps in the blood, for a wider field for his pen than active service as a pastor afforded. One great merit of his sermons apart from their earnestness and scholarly diction was the clarity of every proposition presented, and perhaps he felt that the fire which glowed within him at all times, but perforce weekly, would have more scope in sustained effort. But be this as it may, his work was already done.

Paul Frothingham was still at his best when he died. Sixty-two years had in no wise dimmed the sparkle of the clear, honest gaze which inspired both affection and confidence, or hardened the firm but genial mouth which told, before he spoke, of intelligent sympathy. Where was there in our community a more spiritually honest man? Where one more zealous for righteousness yet freer from the defects of the fanatic? Where one more simple and essentially human? Deep and abiding as were his convictions, he preferred to be thought of as a pilot of Christian souls through the complexities of modern living than as a hard-and-fast theologian. He was a clergyman — of the kind now more common than formerly — with whom laymen throw off their reserve so as to forget that he is one; and to him Kipling's familiar lines

> E'en as he trod that day to God so walked he from his birth,
> In simpleness and gentleness and honour and clean mirth

apply with all the greater force because he rejoiced in being a Christian minister. He will be remembered as a modern in the best sense, who carried on the tradition of his sect with unswerving fidelity to its tenets, yet whose interest in exact belief was always secondary to zealous promotion of upright living in this world, a world which to him was never narrow and always rich in opportunity.

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